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"Mexico, where they coin money and print books:" the Calderón dynasty and the Mexican book trade, 1630-1730.

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“Mexico, where they coin money and print books:” the Calderón dynasty and the Mexican book trade, 1630-1730.

by

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Dedication

For my parents, Lowell G. and Charlotte G. Ward

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is both more and less than I anticipated when I set out on this project. For the credit side of the ledger, the "more than anticipated," I have accrued many debts. The first of these is to Dr. Susan Deans-Smith, my advisor. Prof. Deans-Smith has been an enthusiastic supporter since before my entry into the UT program. Without her support and encouragement, not to mention patience, this research would never have seen the light of day, and I am sincerely grateful. Members of my committee, James Boyden, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Clive Griffin, Ann Twinam, and Michael Winship have provided essential feedback throughout, and have helped me to think about this project more expansively than I otherwise would have.

No endeavor such as this one could be accomplished without the assistance and expertise of the archivists and librarians at the various repositories I have had the privilege to consult. Likewise, colleagues and friends have provided intellectual guidance, critical observations, professional advice, moral support, and the occasionally necessary kick in the ass. Over many years, I have assiduously kept track of each and every one. José de Piñeda de Ibarra, first printer in Guatemala, listed in his testament all of the debts he owed, including about fifty-five pesos to Bernardo Calderón's widow, Paula de Benavides, and historians errantly take this to imply his penury rather than his piety. I likewise feel compelled to list my own debts, but it has grown so long by now that it would swamp the pages that follow. As a result, I can only quote Steve Earle with the hope that my friends and colleagues will understand: "I've got friends that I owe, I ain't naming names 'cause they know, where they stand."

I am profoundly grateful to the staff at each of the archives and libraries listed in the abbreviations. Among these, I cannot neglect don Chucho and don Gil at the Archivo General de la Nación. Don Chucho's occasionally sharp prodding was smoothed by don Gil's consistent *risadas,* the sound track of the AGN, and without them I would not have survived. But my most overwhelming debt goes to don Ignacio Ramírez Franco at Mexico City's Notarial Archive, where I spent most of my time in Mexico. No one there knows as much about the collection, cares as much about the researchers, or provides as much welcome company as he, and his retirement has brought to a close a slim opening into a fantastically rich collection.

At the University of Texas, I am indebted to my friends and colleagues in the graduate program, with whom I shared seminars and Shiner Bocks and a great deal in between. Beyond my student colleagues, my thanks go particularly to Bruce Hunt, Margo Gutiérrez, and Marilynn Lehman. My time in Mexico was particularly enjoyable, and profitable, thanks to the friendship and assistance of Diana Irina Córdoba Ramírez, the Tulane Mafia (Robert Conway, Jonathan Truitt, and Mark Lentz) and Tatiana Seijas. Likewise, while in Mexico and after, I owe great debts to Marina Garone Gravier, Idalia García, César Manrique Figueroa Ana Cecilia Montiel Ontiveros, and Manuel Suárez de Rivera, all of whom have been wonderful interlocutors on this topic, shared published and unpublished pieces they have written and documents they have encountered, and who are my primary audience. In Seville, Manuel Fernández and Natalia Maillard Álvarez were friends and colleagues at the Notarial Archive, both of whom encouraged me to contact Pedro Rueda, who has been unstintingly generous.

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putting up with me in a shared office, listening to me talk out some of the arguments that follow, providing sound criticism, generous encouragement, and being a daily source of sanity.

Invited Research Scholar James Muldoon protests that he has never had a graduate student, but he has nonetheless helped shepherd more dissertations to conclusion than many who have, this one included. At Brown, don José "Pepe" Amor y Vazquez, R. Douglas Cope, Jack Greene and Amy Turner Bushnell, Carol Delaney, Jeremy Mumford, and Patricia Figueroa have been tremendously engaging friends and colleagues. The students of History 1972x, History of the Book in the Iberian Atlantic, taught me that I have very much to learn. Members of the Board of Governors of the John Carter Brown Library have all been supportive, particularly R. David Parsons and George and Gail Edwards. During my time so far at the JCB, more than 150 fellows have passed through our program, and all have in one way or another contributed to this project, with comradeship, encouragement, critical review of chapters-in-progress, and much more, and here Steve Earle's lyric about the many friends that I owe plays a crucial role. That said, at the risk of neglecting 143 or more, I want to thank Ralph Bauer, Alejandro Cañeque, Paul Cohen, Alexandre Dubé, Martin Nesvig, Alejandra Osorio, and Sam Truett. Finally, I want to thank Michael Powell, founder of one of the greatest bookstores in the world, where I first began asking the questions that grew into the chapters that follow.

This dissertation has profited much from the work of the Center for Bibliographical Studies and Research at UC Riverside. One of their projects, the *Catálogo Colectivo de Impresos Latinoamericanos*, has been crucial to its completion. To Brian Geiger and Virginia Shilling, I am not only sincerely grateful, but also hope that with their efforts Latin Americanists will soon see resources for our area of study similar

to those that the USTC and ESTC provide for Europe and British North America. Lynn Carlson of Brown University provided the maps in figures 8-10, and Matt Giraud the map of Mexico City in figure 10.

Funding for this project has come from the University of Texas at Austin, twice from the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sport, a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship, and from the Lilly Library's Mendel fellowship.

To Robert Dawson, with whom I shared many coffees and conversations about this project, and to W. Michael Mathes, who kindly read early drafts of the first three chapters of this dissertation while undergoing chemotherapy, and pronounced them a first class piece of work, Q.E.P.D. my friends.

Finally my parents, Lowell and Charlotte Ward, my sister, Michele Ward, along with Ken Hoffman have been supportive in more ways than I could list, and patient with my meandering road through various careers. To them I owe many debts.

"Mexico, where they coin money and print books:" the Calderón dynasty and the Mexican book trade, 1630-1730.

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This dissertation focuses on the family of printers and booksellers descended from Bernardo Calderón. The family was active in Mexico from no later than 1581 to 1817, and this study focuses on the period from 1628 to 1760 when they were the most prominent. The central question is to understand how they navigated the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, how they operated as a business concern, and how were they related to broader society in New Spain. Organized into six chapters, the first focuses on Calderón's background in Alcalá de Henares and Seville, Spain. The second focuses on Calderón's brief nine-year career in Mexico, followed by an examination of the first decade following his death when the press was led by his widow, Paula de Benavides. Chapter four focuses on the growth and expansion of the enterprise during the period from 1650 to 1685, followed by a discussion of the economics of the book trade during the viceregal period. The final chapter examines a period of intense competition from 1720 to 1760, during which the book trade in New Spain underwent fundamental changes.

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Abbreviations

AGI: Archivo General de la Indias, Seville, Spain

AGN: Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico

AGN (Lima): Archivo General de la Nación, Lima, Peru

AGNot: Archivo General de Notarías, Mexico City, Mexico

AGNP: Archivo General de Notarías de Puebla, Puebla de los Ángeles, Mexico

AHAM: Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México, Mexico City, Mexico

AHCM: Archivo Histórico del Catedral de México, Mexico City, Mexico

AHPS: Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, Seville, Spain

AHSS: Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Salud, Mexico City, Mexico

AMAH: Archivo Municipal de Alcalá de Henares, Alcalá de Henares, Spain

BANC: Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, Berkeley, California

CCILA: Catálogo Colectivo de Impresos Latinoamericanos, http://ccila.ucr.edu/

CCPB: Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico, http://www.mcu.es/bibliotecas/MC/CCPB/

CESU: Centro de Estudios Sobre la Universidad, Universidad Nacional Antónima de México, Mexico City, Mexico

INAH: Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Historia, Mexico City, Mexico

LOC: Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Introduction

"The first concern of every printer is to make a living."[1]

Walk two blocks south of the Zócalo, the central square in Mexico City, down Avenida 5 de Febrero, and turn west onto the Calle de la República de Uruguay. The block is bounded on the west side by the remains of the Augustinian Convent, which served as the rare books repository of Mexico's National Library until the devastating earthquake of 1985. During the viceregal period, this stretch of the Calle Uruguay was known as the Calle de San Agustín, more specifically, the Calle de San Agustín *de los mercaderes*, the merchant's street. Today, other than the convent, once occupying the entire south side of the street, there are few remnants of colonial architecture on the block. One structure dating no further back than the mid-eighteenth century bears a plaque commemorating the residence of German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt during his stay in Mexico in 1803. Another, apparently the oldest surviving edifice, is today an Electronica nightclub quaintly named the Pervert Lounge. On this street, in 1628, Bernardo Calderón opened a bookstore. Only recently-arrived in Mexico, he was immediately denounced to the Inquisition. Despite that, and the devastating flooding that struck the following year, he settled in Mexico and he and his descendants built a dynasty of printers and booksellers that would endure until 1817. If one includes the Ribera branch of the family, active in Mexico no later than 1581 and linked by marriage in 1647, the family's enterprise

[1] George Parker Winship to Lawrence C. Wroth. 21 November 1926. Wroth was, at the time, Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, and drafting his *The Colonial Printer,* Charlottesvile: University Press of Virginia, 1964 (First edition: The Grolier Club: 1931). George Parker Winship was the first Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library. John Carter Brown Library, JCB Librarians, Research and Publication, Wroth, L. C., 1997 Acquisition, Colonial Printer, Box 2, Folder 12, fol. 2r.

spanned eight generations for no fewer than 235 years, virtually the entire viceregal period.

The present study of the Calderón dynasty is the first monographic treatment of seventeenth-century printers and booksellers in Mexico—or all of Latin America for that matter. It grew out of my general frustration with the work of Chilean historian and bibliographer José Toribio Medina, and even more so from the authors who have followed him, many who seemingly take his effort as the *alpha* and *omega* of what might be said on the topic. Despite the significance of Calderón and his descendants, not only in the book trade but also in viceregal society more generally, Medina devoted a mere five lines to Bernardo Calderón in the introduction to his *La imprenta en México,* and they are worth quoting in their entirety:

> Bernardo Calderón, founder of a family of printers, the most prolific of the seventeenth century, began his labors in Mexico early in 1631. He was also a bookseller from the outset, and opened his bookstore and printing house on Calle San Agustín. In 1633 he had as an employee Cornelio Adrián César. His works were few during the early years, but from 1639 they increased considerably, until his death, which occurred, it appears, in the following year, and in any case, before 17 February 1641. He was born in Alcalá de Henares.[2]

Medina included additional capsule biographies for some of Calderón's descendants and subsequent authors have attempted to weave these entries together into synthetic portraits. Nevertheless, in almost a century since Medina published those words very little of any substance has appeared that might help deepen our understanding of how this

[2] "Bernardo Calderón, fundador de una familia de impresores, la más prolífica del siglo XVII, inició sus tareas en México a principios de 1631. Fue también librero desde un principio y abrió su tienda y oficina en la calle de San Agustín. En 1633 tenía como oficial a Cornelio Adriano César. Sus trabajos no fueron muchos en los primeros años, pero a contar desde 1639 aumentaron considerablemente, hasta su fallecimiento, ocurrido, según parece, en el año siguiente, y en todo caso antes del 17 de febrero de 1641. Era natural de Alcalá de Henares." José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en México (1539-1821)*. Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965, vol. 1, p. CXXVIII.

important family maintained their business for so long, much less their relationship with broader viceregal society.[3]

As I pursued my archival research, my frustration with Medina and his followers only grew. To provide but one example, in a publication as recent as 2002, one can read the confident assertion that Bernardo Calderón died sometime between late 1639 and early 1641, but that we lack documentation to be more precise. In fact, it is embarrassingly simple to be more accurate. Among the first documents that I reviewed at Mexico's Archivo General de la Nación is one that leaves no doubt that Calderón died between 16 October 1640, when he authorized his executors to file his testament, and 8 February 1641, when they did so.[4] Not long thereafter, I examined a second document that makes it absolutely clear that he died in December of 1640.[5] While narrative history fell out of fashion many decades ago, my first broad objective with this dissertation is, nevertheless, simply to get the story straight, and to tell it more fully than previous authors have done. As such, there are many recapitulations of names and dates. My aim is not to be a neo-positivist, piling fact upon fact, but instead to situate these details in their broader context to provide a thicker description than earlier accounts.[6] Beyond this, however, since Medina's errors of omission and commission have been so thoroughly inscribed into the historiography and much of what follows is drawn from archives that

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[3] Francisco Pérez Salazar, *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial / Dos familias de impresores mexicanos del siglo XVII*. Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 1987. Emma Rivas Mata, "Impresores y mercaderes de libros en la ciudad de México, siglo XVII." In *Del autor al lector: I. Historia del libro en México. II. Historia del libro*, coord. Carmen Castañeda García and Myrna Cortés, México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social; Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2002, pp. 71-102. Ana Cecilia Ontiveros Montiel, and Luz del Carmen Beltrán Cabrera. "Paula de Benavides: Impresora del Siglo XVII. El inicio de un linaje." In: *Contribuciones desde Coatepec*, no. 010 enero-junio 2006, pp. 103-115.

[4] AGN, Bienes Nacionales, vol. 56, exp. 102, fol. 1r.

[5] AGN, General de Parte, vol. 8, exp. 74, fol. 51r-52r.

[6] On the concept of "thick description," see: Clifford Geertz. "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." In: *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973, pp. 3-32.

are rarely consulted, and even then with time-consuming difficulty, I hope to provide ample resources for researchers to expand upon (or contest) the arguments that follow.

Despite my frustration with Medina, historians have much to be thankful for from his labors; he published over 350 titles, many transcribing archival documents that are difficult to access or have since disappeared. His bibliographical volumes may be the best known today, and in some respects have yet to be superseded. Appearing between the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, his aim was to compile comprehensive listings—enumerative bibliographies, in the parlance of the trade—of all Spanish American imprints (including Manila, Philippines), and all of those published in Europe related to Spanish America.[7] For Spanish America, he organized his bibliographies by city: eight volumes for Mexico, four for Lima, one each for Puebla, Guatemala, Havana, Manila, etc., along with collected bibliographies for cities with smaller output. These volumes total twenty-nine for Spanish American cities, and another eleven for European works related to Spanish America. He drew heavily on the efforts of previous bibliographers, such as Antonio de León Pinelo's *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental e occidental*, first published in Madrid in 1629 and republished in expanded form in 1737, and Nicolás Antonio's *Biblioteca hispana nova*, also done in Madrid, in 1788.[8] For Mexico, Medina availed himself of the works of Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, José Mariano Beristaín de Sousa, and Vicente de Paula Andrade.[9] He was the first of these to

[7] In the pages that follow, "imprint" will be used in two ways: 1) a printed text, from a broadside of a single sheet (or less), to a book of many pages, and 2) the statement of responsibility, e. g. printer's name, and place and date of publication. Usage should be clear from context.

[8] Antonio de León Pinelo. *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental e occidental náutica y geográfica*. Madrid: Juan González, 1629; and Madrid: Francisco Martínez Abad, 1737-1738. Nicolás Antonio. *Bibliotheca hispana nova sive hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV*. Madrid: Joaquín de Ibarra, 1788. Nicolás Antonio's bibliography was first published in Madrid in 1672 as *Bibliotheca hispana vetus,* covering authors up to 1500.

[9] Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren. *Biblioteca Mexicana.* México: Biblioteca Mexicana, 1755. José Mariano Beristaín de Souza. *Biblioteca hispano americana setentrional.* 2ª edición, Amecameca: Tipografía del Colegio Católico, 1882-97. Vicente de Paula Andrade. *Ensayo bibliográfico Mexicano del siglo XVII*. 2ª

include transcriptions of documents from European and American archives related to the history of printing and to the books and authors he listed. In addition, he prefaced his volumes with historical overviews of printers, booksellers, illustrators, and bibliographers, and these remain useful if approached with caution. Medina's prefatory material for his Spanish American bibliographies, along with many of the documents he reproduced, were drawn together by Guillermo Feliú Cruz in 1958 and issued as the two volume *Historia de la imprenta en los antiguos dominios españoles de América y Oceanía*, which, despite its lack of synthesis, remains the most comprehensive source on the history of printing in Spanish America.[10]

Although remarkable for their time, Medina's historical overviews and bibliographical entries must be read with care. While his narrative synopses benefited from far more extensive archival research than previous efforts, he by no means exhausted the documentary sources. He himself lamented the little research conducted in Mexico's notarial archives, for example.[11] More recent investigations, the present study in particular, have uncovered a great deal of material that frequently calls into question his interpretations, and much of the research for this dissertation derives from notarial records that Medina did not consult.

Likewise, by relying on previously published bibliographies, Medina includes many imprints that he had not seen, and indeed, some that never existed. To give two examples, Medina includes a title attributed to Luís de Berrio Montalvo, supposedly from 1634, entitled *Informe sobre las minas de Tasco.* The latter was first cited in the 1737

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edición, México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1899. On these bibliographers, see Emma Rivas Mata. *Bibliografías novohispanas, o, Historia de varones eruditos*. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

[10] José Toribio Medina. *Historia de la imprenta en los antiguos dominios españoles de América y Oceanía*. Guillermo Feliú Cruz, ed., Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1958.

[11] Medina. *La imprenta en México*. p. XVI.

edition of León Pinelo's *Epitome*. It could never have existed, since Berrio Montalvo did not depart for New Spain until 1636. It was indeed published, however, but not until 1643, with the title *Al Ex.mo señor don García Sarmiento de Sotomayor y Luna…En informe del nuevo beneficio que se ha dado a los metales.*[12] Likewise, Medina included, as the first book printed in Puebla de los Ángeles, "Mateo Salcedo's" *Arco triunfal: Emblemas, jeroglíficos y poesías*, supposedly of 1640, also first mentioned in the 1737 *Epitome*. In fact, this was published in Mexico in 1641, written by Mateo Galindo, and appeared with the title *Fuerte sabia política.* [13]

These examples illustrate two facets of working with early bibliographical compilations that must be kept in mind. First, that precise title page transcription only became the norm in the nineteenth century. One telltale sign that Medina did not personally see an item that appears in his bibliography, and thus that his entry should be taken with some caution, is the lack of line-breaks in a title's transcription, usually indicated by "/". Second, that commonplace printing house errors, such as inverting the "43" for "34" in the example above, constitute more than simple "typographical errors." They create "ghosts" in the bibliographical and historical record that are conserved, as here, from León Pinelo in 1737 to Medina in 1909, and these ghosts may lead historians to err in fact or interpretation. In other words, Medina's publications are not the *alpha*, and certainly should not be accepted as the *omega.*

Inquiry into the history of the book in Mexico might be said to have begun with the appearance of Juan José Eguiara y Eguren's *Biblioteca mexicana*, the first volume of

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[12] Medina *México* 445 and 567, respectively. For the sake of brevity, citations to works in Medina's *La imprenta en México* or other bibliographies will be indicated by their entry number as here and in the following note. Works in Francisco González de Cossio's *La imprenta en México (1553-1820). 510 adiciones a la Obra de José Toribio Medina* will be cited as, for example, "González de Cossio *510* 35." Berrio Montalvo's license to travel to Mexico appears in AGI, Contratación, 5417, n. 43.

[13] Medina *Puebla* 1. See Appendix D for a full discussion of this title.

which was published in 1755, and from which this study takes its title.[14] Despite this long tradition, until recent decades the history of the book in Mexico, indeed, all of Spanish America, has suffered from an underdeveloped historiography. We are still a very long way from being able to produce analyses such as Andrew Pettegree's *The Book in the Renaissance*. The latter is based on an extensive secondary literature and a vast corpus of bibliographical data compiled by the Universal Short Title Catalog project at the University of St. Andrews. Nor could we attempt something like the edited collection, *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, the first volume of the American Antiquarian Society's series entitled the *History of the Book in America.*[15] Recent developments in the historiography of the book in Latin America have only now brought us to the point where can begin to contemplate for Spanish America a study similar to Lawrence C. Wroth's classic work on British North America, *The Colonial Printer*, first published in 1931.[16]

Perhaps ironically, considering the American Antiquarian Society's parochial use of "America" for its series title, the first general overview of the history of the book in Spanish America was written by its founder, Isaiah Thomas, in his 1810 book, *The*

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[14] Juan José Eguiara y Eguren. *Bibliotheca mexicana; sive, eruditorum historia virorum*. México: Biblioteca Mexicana, 1755. "Ubi aes cuditur, & imprimuntur libri," p. [78]; ¶16[2]v. Rather ironically, considering that Eguiara's text was intended to laud the erudition of Mexican-born authors, he incorrectly attributes the passage to "Marcum Serran" and the text "*Thesauro Synonimorum*." The correct author is Francisco Serra, and the quotation was drawn either from his *Synonymorum apparatus*. Venice: 1654 (reprinted 1672), p. 481, or *Synonymorum, epithetorum, phrasium*. Venice and Nuremberg: 1701, p. 531.

[15] Andrew Pettegree. *The Book in the Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010. Hugh Amory and David D. Hall, eds. *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, American Antiquarian Society, 2000. Despite the AAS series title, "America" refers only to British North America. As Pettegree's book drew upon the USTC, *The Colonial Book*'s contributors, and the many precursor works they drew upon, benefitted from the English Short Title Catalog, a bibliographical database hosted by the British Library, that catalogs all imprints 1) printed mainly in English between 1473 and 1800, and 2) mainly but not exclusively in the British Isles and British North America. Historians of Latin America will one day benefit from a similar catalog, the *Catálogo colectivo de impresos latinoamericanos*, currently being compiled by the Center for Bibliographical Studies and Research at the University of California at Riverside. This study has benefited profoundly from this work-in-progress.

[16] Lawrence C. Wroth. *The Colonial Printer*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1964.

History of Printing in America.[17] Himself a printer, Thomas understood "America" hemispherically, and began his study with overviews of printing in Spanish, French, Dutch and Portuguese America, before embarking on British North America. After a survey of the invention and spread of printing in Europe, he began his discussion of Spanish America writing,

> The art of printing was first introduced into Spanish America, as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. The historians, whose works I have consulted, are all silent as to the time when it was first practiced on the American continent; and the knowledge we have of the Spanish territories, especially of Mexico and Peru, is so circumscribed, that we cannot fix on any precise date as the period of its commencement; but it is certain that printing was executed, both in Mexico and Peru, long before it made its appearance in the British North American colonies. I do not mean to assert, however, that it is impossible to ascertain the place where, and the exact date when, the first printing was performed in the extensive provinces belonging to Spain in America; but as respects myself, I have found that insurmountable difficulties have attended the inquiry.[18]

When, in 1874, the American Antiquarian Society published the second edition of Thomas' study, they called upon John Russell Bartlett, then John Carter Brown's private librarian, to bring Thomas' survey up to date. Bartlett drew heavily on Brown's formidable collection of books, pamphlets, and broadsides printed in Spanish America, and in addition to adding greatly to Thomas' historiographical comments, he provided short-title listings of ninety-three books printed in Mexico and seven printed in Peru prior to 1601.[19]

While Bartlett's successors at the John Carter Brown Library, George Parker Winship and Lawrence C. Wroth, continued to publish on printing in Spanish America, to date, most of the published sources on the history of the book in New Spain have

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[17] Isaiah Thomas. *The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers*. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1810.
[18] Thomas. *History of Printing in America*. (1810) Vol. 1, p. 189.
[19] Thomas. *History of Printing in America*. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1874. Vol. 1, pp. 365-380.

appeared in Spanish and focused on the sixteenth century.[20] Save for Pedro Balli and his descendants, active between 1574 and 1614, each of the sixteenth-century printers has been the subject of dedicated monographic study.[21] These studies have tended to focus on typography, bibliographical output, and documentary compilations, and a synthetic study situating sixteenth-century printers in their full economic, political, social and cultural context, drawing on additional documentary sources, remains a *desiradatum*.[22]

Juan Pablos	1539-1560
Antonio de Espinosa	1559-1575
Pedro Ocharte	1563-1592
Pedro Balli	1574-1601
Antonio Ricardo	1577-1579
Widow of Ocharte (María Sansorel) and Melchor Ocharte	1594-1605
Enrico Martínez	1599-1611

Table 1: Sixteenth-Century Printers in New Spain

[20] See, for example, George Parker Winship. *The Earliest American Imprints*. Milwaukee: The E. Keogh Press, 1899; and Lawrence C. Wroth. *Some Reflections on the Book Arts in Early Mexico*. Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1945.

[21] On Juan Pablos (1539-1560), see Agustín Millares Carlo and Julián Calvo. *Juan Pablos, primer impresor que a esta tierra vino*. México: Libraría de Manuel Porrúa, 1953 and María Isabel Grañén Porrúa. *Los grabados en la obra de Juan Pablos: primer Impresor de La Nueva España, 1539-1560*. México: Apoyo al Desarrollo de Archivos y Bibliotecas de México, A.C.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010. For Antonio de Espinosa (1559-1575) and Pedro Ocharte (1563-1592), see A. A. M. Stols. *Antonio de Espinosa: el segundo impresor mexicano*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónomo de México, 1962 and *Pedro Ocharte: el tercer impresor mexicano*. México: Imprenta Nuevo Mundo, 1962. On Antonio Ricardo, (1577-1579, and from 1584 the first printer in Peru) see, Antonio Rodriguez-Buckingham. "Colonial Peru and the printing press of Antonio Ricardo." Ph.D. Thesis. (Library Science), University of Michigan, 1977. Enrico Martínez (1599-1611) and compositor Cornelio Adrián César (1602-1633) have been studied by Juan Pascoe in, *La obra de Enrico Martínez: cosmógrafo del rey, intérprete del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, cortador y fundidor de caracteres, tallador de grabados, impresor de libros, autor, arquitecto y maestro mayor de la obra del desagüe del valle de México*. México: Taller Martín Pescador, 1996 and *Cornelio Adrián César: impresor en la Nueva España, 1597-1633*. México: Taller Martín Pescador, 1992, the latter including a re-edition of Stols' "Cornelio Adrián César, impresor holandés en México," originally published in the *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* (México), July-September, 1957.

[22] Rosa María Fernández de Zamora's *Los impresos mexicanos del siglo XVI : su presencia en el patrimonio cultural del nuevo siglo*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009, will be a fundamental resource for such a project as will the series of books on Mexico's sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century printers in preparation by Juan Pascoe. See also, María Isabel Grañén Porrúa. "El ámbito socio-laboral de las imprentas novohispanas; siglo XVI." In: *Anuario de estudios americanos*. Vol. 48 (1991), pp. 49-94.

Nevertheless, taken together, these monographs provide a good general overview of the evolution of the book arts in Mexico through and slightly beyond 1600.

More recently, a cadre of scholars, inspired by the social and cultural dimensions of book history, has begun to investigate printers in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Martha Whittaker's dissertation, "Jesuit printing in Bourbon Mexico City: the press of the Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1748-1767," examines the Jesuit order in New Spain and the operation of their printing office to argue that it did not serve as the Jesuits' house organ publishing their works alone, but rather as a means of income, driven largely by ephemeral publications.[23] Manuel Suárez Rivera's preliminary study of the Zúñiga y Ontiveros family likewise identifies a significant role for ephemera, particularly the city guides and almanacs known as the *Guías de forasteros*. His much-anticipated dissertation will surely add significantly to our knowledge about one of the most important presses of Mexico City, active from 1761 to 1825.[24] Finally, Ana Cecilia Montiel Ontiveros' dissertation on the Jáureguies, "La imprenta de María Fernández de Jáuregui: Testigo y protagonista de los cambios en la cultura impresa durante el periodo 1801-1817," has been particularly helpful for the present study, since it treats the last generations of the Calderón dynasty and the final disappearance of their press.[25]

While the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries have been relatively well studied, the seventeenth century has received far less attention, and even then, only in briefer form. In the 1920s and 1930s, Francisco Pérez Salazar penned two path-breaking articles, since

[23] Martha Ellen Whittaker. "Jesuit printing in Bourbon Mexico City: the press of the Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1748-1767." Ph.D. Thesis (Library Science). University of California, Berkeley, 1998.

[24] Manuel Suárez Rivera. "Felipe y Mariano de Zúñiga y Ontiveros : impresores ilustrados y empresarios culturales (1761-1825)." Licenciatura Thesis (History), Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005 and "En el arco frontero al palacio : análisis del inventario de la Librería de Cristóbal de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1758." Masters Thesis (History), Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009.

[25] Ana Cecilia Montiel Ontiveros. "La imprenta de María Fernández de Jáuregui: Testigo y protagonista de los cambios en la cultura impresa durante el periodo 1801-1817." Ph.D. Thesis (History). Universidad Complutense de Madrid: 2009.

issued together in book form as *Los impresores de Puebla en la Época Colonial / Dos familias de impresores Mexicanos del siglo XVII.*[26] While both extend beyond 1700, no other source provides such extensive discussion of the seventeenth century. Pérez Salazar was also attentive to Medina's foibles, and provides necessary corrections at a number of points. Most useful for the current study are his citations to documents in the notarial archive of Mexico that provided me with my first inroads into that complicated collection.

The attention historians of the book in Mexico have devoted to the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries mirrors the broader historiography, which focuses on periods of the most dramatic change: the military and spiritual conquest followed by the implantation of Spanish institutions on the one hand, and the Bourbon reforms and the drive for independence on the other. The seventeenth century, although punctuated by moments of conflict and violence, was largely one of an emergent status quo, one that led James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz to deem this juncture the "mature colonial period."[27]

In a study focusing on the published output of New Spain's authors during the seventeenth century, Magdalena Chocano Mena argues that this status quo was brought about, in part, by a "lettered elite" who sought to construct a "learned fortress" (*fortaleza docta*), one that excluded members of the indigenous population, *mestizos,* and those who

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[26] Francisco Pérez Salazar. *Los impresores de Puebla en la Época Colonial / Dos familias de impresores Mexicanos del siglo XVII*. Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Secretaría de Cultura, 1987.

[27] James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz. *Early Latin America. A history of colonial Spanish America and Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 122. On the seventeenth century, the standard work remains Jonathan I. Israel. *Race, class, and politics in colonial Mexico, 1610-1670*. London: Oxford University Press, 1975. On the upheaval of 1624, see Rosa Feijoo, "El tumulto de 1624." In: *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Jul. - Sep., 1964), pp. 42-70. For the riot of 1692, see R. Douglas Cope. *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994. See also, Natalia Silva Prada. *La política de una rebelión: los indígenas frente al tumulto de 1692 en la Ciudad de México*. México: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2007. On the emergent status quo and the "spiritual consolidation" following the sixteenth century, see Karen Melvin. *Building Colonial Cities of God: Mendicant Orders and Urban Culture in New Spain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.

did not possess advanced education. Their learned fortress, in turn, ensured them preferred access to religious or civil careers, on the one hand, and furthered imperial objectives on the other.[28] Based on her Ph.D. dissertation, "Colonial Scholars in the Cultural Establishment of Seventeenth-Century New Spain," the published volume unfortunately omits a very useful survey of printing in New Spain that appeared as the dissertation's first chapter.[29] Some of Chocano Mena's findings from this omitted chapter appear in a pair of articles in which she concludes that "[a]lthough the printing press in Mexico shaped colonial culture, it did not prompt a 'printing revolution' as such, since it did not play the same role in religious dissension as it did in contemporary Europe."[30] Concluding otherwise would, of course, have run counter to the thesis of her larger work, but it is somewhat puzzling why she did not argue more strongly that printers were an integral part of the lettered elites' effort to build their learned fortress and establish a status quo. It hardly seems necessary to point out that printers Enrico Martínez, Juan Ruiz, Antonio Calderón were also authors, and therefore members of the lettered elite who were the focus of her study. Nevertheless, in her dissertation and articles Chocano Mena instead views printers as their mere auxiliaries rather than agents enmeshed in the same network and engaged in much the same project.

Robert Darnton's influential model of a "communications circuit" provides a much better means for conceptualizing the complex network of relationships linking

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[28] Magdalena Chocano Mena. *La fortaleza docta: Elite letrada y dominación social en México colonial [siglos XVI-XVII]*. Barcelona: Ediciones Bellaterra, 1999.

[29] Magdalena G. Chocano-Mena "Colonial Scholars in the Cultural Establishment of Seventeenth-Century New Spain." Ph. D. Dissertation (History). State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1994, pp. 29-112.

[30] Magdalena Chocano Mena. "Colonial Printing and Metropolitan Books: Printed Texts and the Shaping of Scholarly Culture in New Spain, 1539-1700." In: Colonial Latin American Historical Review. Vol. 6 no. 1, (Winter 1997), pp. 69-90. See also, Chocano Mena. "Imprenta e impresores de Nueva España, 1539-1700: Límites económicos y condiciones políticas en la tipografía colonial americana." In: *Historia social*. No. 23 (1995), pp. 3-19.

authors, printers, booksellers, and readers than Chocano Mena's circumscribed lettered elite.[31] Although elaborated as a part of a broader project to understand the role of the printed book in the lead up to the French Revolution, Darnton acknowledges that it could be adapted to different times and places, and even different media.[32]

In describing his model, Darnton writes,

> [T]he model allows for outside influences at every stage. Authors, publishers, printers, booksellers, librarians, and readers constantly modified their behavior in response to pressure from the state, the Church, the economy, and various social groups. Until recently, most research has concentrated on authors. Their texts often bore the mark of patronage, censorship, enmities, rivalries, and the need for income. But when they appeared in print, the texts were shaped by the artisans who set the type, composed the forms, and pulled the bars of the presses. Publishers also molded the meaning of texts when they put together speculations, deciding on market strategies, formats, illustrations, type, and book design. And the importance of booksellers as cultural middlemen can hardly be overestimated. It was in the bookseller's shop—or stall, or wagon, or the pack on his back—that supply met demand and books came into the hands of readers.[33]

Darnton's model should be taken more as a theoretical construct than a schematic division of labor, since only a well-developed, metropolitan market could sustain some of the discrete functions he identifies. In New Spain during the seventeenth century, for example, printers such as the Calderóns occupied many nodes represented as distinct in his model. In addition to being printers, they were also wholesale and retail booksellers, binders, and often publishers, as well.[34] Likewise, while Darnton represents printers and booksellers as constrained by "political and legal sanctions," which in seventeenth-century New Spain would correspond to the Council of the Indies, the viceroy, the

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[31] Robert Darnton. "What is the History of Books." In: *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*. New York: Norton, 1990, pp. 107-135. Darnton revisited this model in *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*. New York: Norton, 1995, pp. 181-197.

[32] Darnton. *Forbidden Best-Sellers*, p. 182.

[33] Darnton. *Forbidden Best-Sellers,* p. 184.

[34] For British North America, see also, Wroth. *The Colonial Printer*. p. 191.

Audiencia, and the Inquisition, the Calderóns enjoyed reciprocal relationships with these institutions since they served as the official printers to the latter three. Although

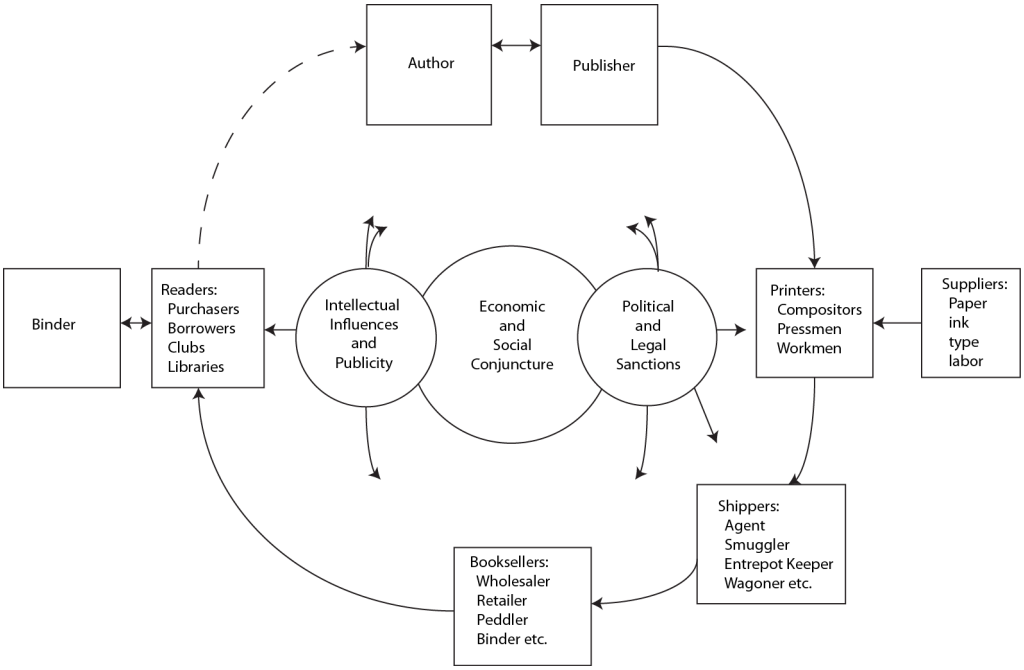

Figure 1: Darnton's Communications Circuit

constrained by these institutions and dependent on their patronage, these bodies were likewise dependent on the Calderóns for their smooth functioning. In the quotation cited above, Darnton refers to booksellers as "cultural middlemen," but in New Spain during the seventeenth century, given their expansive influence over the trade, it would be more appropriate to refer to the Calderóns as gatekeepers, in other words, not simple adjuncts to Chocano Mena's lettered elites and local bureaucratic institutions, but essential to them.

Chocano Mena's rather unsatisfying conclusion that the printing press did not prompt change was directly addressing Elizabeth Eisenstein's work, and suggests that she was perhaps trapped by the occasionally over-drawn interpretations some of Eisenstein's

critics have ascribed to her.[35] In her 1979 study, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Eisenstein identifies four characteristics of what she calls "print culture:" diffusion, standardization, fixity, and amplification and reinforcement. With the advent of print, texts could be reproduced in the thousands, and distributed more widely than in the manuscript era. The texts likewise became more standardized, with one publisher copying directly from a previous publisher's text. These subsequent editions contributed to the longevity of the texts, and these widely disbursed, standardized texts allowed scholars to compare and combine bits of knowledge, expanding upon the efforts of earlier writers. Eisenstein explores the relationship of these four aspects of print culture to the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Scientific Revolution. Some critics have attacked the notion of "print culture" in general, and others have addressed one or another of the four constituent elements Eisenstein identifies, and it would require a long digression to explore each of her critics in turn. Chocano Mena, however, appears persuaded by those who argue that Eisenstein saw the appearance of the printing press as causal of the three movements she explores, and, when confronted with an example that does not accord with critics' caricature of Eisenstein's argument (seventeenth-century New Spain), is left without a strong positive argument to make.

But preceding Eisenstein were Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'Apparition du Livre*, first published in 1958.[36] The title of their concluding chapter, "The Book as a Force for Change," might equally appropriately end with an interrogative

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[35] Chocano Mena. "Colonial Printing." p. 69. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979 and *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. The latter includes an Afterword in which Eisenstein responded to many of these critiques. See also the robust dialogue between Eisenstein and Adrian Johns that appeared as a Forum discussion in the *American Historical Review*, vol. 107, no. 1 (February 2002), pp. 84-128.

[36] Published in English translation as *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*. Trans. David Gerard. New York: New Left Books, 1976.

instead of a full stop. In it, they bring together a "balance-sheet" of "the revolutionary changes that took place during the period of the Renaissance and of the Reformation."[37] While much of their conclusion does indeed survey aspects of change—particularly in their discussion of the Reformation—at other points they emphasize continuity between the manuscript period and the era after the arrival of the printing press. At various points they caution that, "[i]t is fairly evident at the outset that printing brought about no sudden or radical transformation, and contemporary culture hardly seems at first to have changed, at least in its general characteristics." And a few pages later, "[a]lthough printing certainly helped scholars in some fields, on the whole it could not be said to have hastened the acceptance of new ideas or knowledge."[38] Among the reasons they identified for this outcome was the role of printers and publishers as selectors:

> One fact must not be lost sight of: the printer and the bookseller worked above all and from the beginning for profit…Like their modern counterparts, 15th-century publishers only financed the kind of book they felt sure would sell enough copies to show a profit in a reasonable time. We should not therefore be surprised to find that the immediate effect of printing was merely to further increase the circulation of those works which had already enjoyed success in manuscript, and often to consign other less popular texts to oblivion. By multiplying books by the hundred and then thousand, the press achieved both increased volume and at the same time more rigorous selection.[39]

Like Chocano Mena's lettered elite engaged with the apparatus of censorship, printers, publishers, and booksellers acted as gatekeepers, accepting some texts for publication while denying others. For Febvre and Martin, these latter actors' choices were driven by their search for profit, or, at the least, their economic motivation to remain in business.

More recently, Andrew Pettegree affirms Febvre and Martin's conclusions (and, by the way, Eisenstein's) and adds substantially to our understanding of how the book

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[37] Febvre and Martin. *The Coming of the Book*." p. 248.
[38] Febvre and Martin. *The Coming of the Book*. pp. 260, 278.
[39] Febvre and Martin. *The Coming of the Book*. p. 249.

trade functioned in the Early Modern period. Based on much more extensive empirical data, he adds that, in order to be profitable enough to survive, printers required access to long-distance trade networks to ensure the distribution of their publications, access to credit mechanisms allowing them to conduct business at a distance, and a steady stream of local commissions for ephemeral "job" printing to sustain them between larger projects.[40]

In his review of Pettegree's work, Adrian Johns argues that he, like Febvre and Martin before him, risks anachronism, or at least "reductionism," writing, "[h]e insists that printers of the Renaissance were 'businessmen,' and that those who survived did so by practicing 'economic pragmatism,' which meant obeying 'iron laws of economics.'" For Johns, "[t]he danger is of collapsing complex decisions and processes, necessarily dependent on partial and local information on all sides, into effects of supervening (and apparently timeless) laws."[41] In this, Johns echoes Darnton's remarks that at each stage in the communications circuit actors modified their behavior in response to pressures from outside the circuit.

As might be assumed from the title of this dissertation and the epigram for this chapter, this study of the Calderón press focuses on how it functioned as a business enterprise, one that survived for over two centuries. Like its European counterparts, the Calderón enterprise occupied one node of a wide-ranging trade network that stretched Eastward from Mexico to Seville, and from there throughout Europe, and Westward to Manila as well. They enjoyed secure access to mechanisms of credit that allowed them to

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[40] Andrew Pettegree. *The Book in the Renaissance,* New Haven, Yale University Press, 2010, pp. 18-19, 242-244.

[41] Adrian Johns. Review of *The Book in the Renaissance,* by Andrew Pettegree. *The Journal of Modern History*. Vol. 83, No. 4 (December 2011), pp. 855-857. p. 857. Johns' own study (*The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) focuses quite closely on local factors in the social construction of textual authority in seventeenth-century London.

do business at a distance and were buoyed by a constant stream of ephemeral publications that were protected by monopoly privileges granted by the viceroy and the Inquisition. At the same time, however, I argue that their decisions were not governed strictly by profit-seeking behavior but were conditioned by and responsive to local circumstances. The Calderóns were gatekeepers—selectors, to use Febvre and Martin's term—and exercising that role allowed them to amass not only financial capital, but social and symbolic capital as well. While enjoying the patronage of the viceroy and the Inquisition, as gatekeepers, the Calderóns were also in a position to dispense patronage. In other words, rather than mere auxiliaries to Chocano Mena's lettered elite, the Calderóns were crucial agents enmeshed in the same complex network of relationships that defined seventeenth-century New Spain.

ON THE ISSUE OF GENDER

Chocano Mena's study focuses exclusively on male authors, since women were by definition excluded from the *forteleza docta*. But when considering the book trade, there is no way to avoid them. In fact, when non-specialists approach the history of the book in Mexico during this period, the prominence of women is often the first thing they notice. This is so much the case that it led Sara Poot-Herrera to dub it the "century of the widows" in an article with the same title. In it, she pays particular attention to Bernardo Calderón's widow, Paula de Benavides.[42] One is tempted to cite Lawrence C. Wroth's comment that "[n]ot too much emphasis should be placed upon the existence of this condition in the colonies, for the assumption by widows of the business of their husbands

[42] Sara Poot-Herrera, "El siglo de las viudas. Impresoras y mercadoras de libros en el XVII novohispano," *Destiempos: Revista de curiosidad cultural*. Vol. 3, no. 14 (March-April 2008), pp. 300-316. For a comprehensive review of the literature on women and the book trade in Mexico, with relevant literature from Spain as well, see Marina Garrone Gravier, "Impresoras Hispanoamericanas: un estado de la cuestion," in: *La tipografía en México: Ensayos históricos (siglos XVI al XIX),* Mexico: Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas, 2012, pp. 63-79.

was the wholesome custom of the time rather than a peculiarity of the place."[43] Indeed, women have been engaged in the book trade from the manuscript period. But, as Adrian Johns has argued, uniquely local factors and institutions shaped the book trade in seventeenth-century London, and the same can be argued about seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mexico.[44] Paula de Benavides' experience in Mexico (1641-1684) was different from María de Quiñones' in Madrid (1628-1666), Charlotte Guillard's (d. 1552) in Paris, and Mary Catherine Goddard's (1738-1816) in Providence, Philadelphia and Baltimore.[45] At the same time, Benavides' involvement in the trade in Mexico from 1641 to 1684 was different from that of her great-grand daughter, María Candelaria de Ribera between 1714 and 1754.

When I embarked on this project, I had hoped to come away with something to contribute to our understanding of gender in New Spain during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, as I emerge, I find that I still have more questions than answers. Although I have collected interesting facts and anecdotes, I am not certain that these add up to an argument. For Marina Garone, who has written extensively on the topic of women and the book trade in Mexico, the salient questions are about how gender is or is not reflected in things like typography, selection of texts or genres of texts for publication, their illustration and sale.[46] For me the questions are inverted. In other words, the issue is not what can gender tell us about the book trade, but instead, what can

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[43] Wroth. *The Colonial Printer*. p. 153.

[44] Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

[45] María de Quiñones was the widow of two printers, one of them being Juan de la Cuesta, whom she wed in 1604. The following year, Diego Guillén sent the *Obras* of Louis de Blois to de la Cuesta's press. There is no clear relationship between María de Quiñones and Pedro de Quiñones, the Mexican printer. We still lack a good study of Quiñones. On Charlotte Guillard, see Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France,* Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, 2002, 55-56, for example. On Mary Catherine Goddard, see Leona M. Hudak, *Early American Women Printers and Publishers, 1639-1820,* Metuchen: Scarecrow Press: 1978, pp. 318-396.

[46] Marina Garrone Gravier, "Impresoras Hispanoamericanas: un estado de la cuestion," pp. 76-77.

a study of the book trade tell us about gender in Mexico during the viceregal period. That said, in the pages that follow, I have chosen not to reflect or speculate at length about some rather obvious instances of, for example, appeals to contemporary notions about gender roles. Instead I reserve my comments for the conclusion.

Finally, Garone cautions that perhaps women are held to a higher standard of evidence than are men in terms of their participation in the book trade. Or, stated in a different way, that we often assume that the men mentioned in the documents or named in imprints were directly involved with the day-to-day activities of the press, but women, despite similar references, were not.[47] I have tried to remain somewhat skeptical on both accounts. On the one hand, it is clear that some men engaged in the trade and discussed below were directly involved. Juan Ruiz, for example, began as a compositor for another printer before opening his own printing house. Francisco Salbago, however, began as a merchant and may only have exercised high-level oversight of the press he owned. As for women, there is only one clear documentary reference to a woman practicing the trade in the seventeenth century, Juan Ruiz's granddaughter, Feliciana.[48] This does not mean that women could not also exercise high-level oversight, or perhaps even directly engage in the day-to-day operations of the press, but simply that, as with some of the men, it is difficult to know with certainty. Thus in the pages that follow, when I write, for example, "Francisco Salbago printed…" or "Getrudis de Escobar printed…" I am simply stating that a particular work came from one printing house or another. In many cases, under both men and women, administrators and master printers oversaw the shops, with perhaps

[47] Garone, "Impresores hispanoamericanas," p. 66. The second formulation is my paraphrase of a personal communication from Clive Griffin, 7 May 2013.
[48] Pérez Salazar. *Los impresores de Puebla*. p. 239.

no involvement by the person named in the imprint (the "printer") other than ownership of the press.

ORGANIZATION

Divided into six chapters, the first traces Bernardo Calderón's family and his life and career from his birth in Alcalá de Henares to Seville, and from there to New Spain. Chapter two examines his brief career in New Spain and the competitive environment he operated within up to his death in 1640. Chapter three treats the following decade under the leadership of Calderón's widow, Paula de Benavides. Central to chapters two and three are disputes over the monopoly on *cartillas*, small pamphlets published in one, two or even three languages, that were used to teach the basics of reading and Catholic doctrine. The conflict over the *cartilla* monopoly was one element of larger conflicts between the diocesan clergy and the religious orders that had emerged in the late sixteenth century and continued with great intensity through the 1640s and bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's tenure in New Spain. By the time of Palafox's departure from New Spain in 1649, Paula de Benavides had achieved a near-monopoly on printing in New Spain that endured for much of the following decade. Chapter four covers the period from the formation of this near-monopoly through the deaths of Paula de Benavides and her son-in-law Juan de Ribera in 1684 and 1685, respectively. Despite holding a near-monopoly, the number of titles produced during the period did not increase, but instead contracted, and even with the appearance of another press, ending the near-monopoly, production did not significantly increase until the 1680s. At the same time, this is the period during which the family's economic position improved substantially. Judging by the dramatic increase in the number of titles produced beginning around 1720, there was significant unmet demand from local authors hoping to get into print and from readers for

local productions. In other words, the period before 1720 was one of (perhaps artificially) constrained local output during which readers' demand was met by imports from Seville while authors' access to the press was tightly controlled, reflecting printers' role of gatekeepers and patrons.

Chapter five is the most heavily bibliographical of all of the chapters. It analyzes a series of billing records, inventories of the Calderón and Ribera printing offices prepared around 1687, and a reconstructed tally of debts owed to the family in 1714. The billing records help to illustrate how books were produced, and through understanding their production, how the Calderóns earned their profit. The inventories provide a look through the shop window to see the extent of their businesses when they were at their peak. Finally, the debts owed them help to illustrate one aspect of how the clan managed their business enterprise.

Chapter six examines the fiercest competition the Calderón dynasty faced since the 1640s. In 1721, merchant José Bernardo de Hogal arrived from Spain and opened a printing office the following year. He launched an economic assault on the Calderón dynasty's gatekeeper position, opening the doors wider to local authors hoping to get into print. Simultaneously, Hogal began to attack the privileges that the Calderóns enjoyed under the terms of the *cartilla* monopoly. I argue that he managed to achieve the latter by exploiting fissures that had emerged between the *Audiencia*, the Royal Tribunal with the viceroy at its head, and the *cabildo*, the local town council of Mexico. This study concludes with a brief epilogue that traces the Calderón press to its final disappearance in 1817 and draws together the central arguments of the constituent chapters.

Chapter 1: Bernardo Calderón and the Origins of a Dynasty

"Clean-shaven, with big blue eyes and
a sign of scrofula on the neck."[1]

What was the social and economic position of Bernardo Calderón's family in Alcalá de Henares? What was their relationship to the book trade and what if anything can it tell us about his later career? Where and from whom did Calderón learn the offices of printer and bookseller? Under what circumstances did he travel to the New World? Calderón was born in one of the most prominent centers of the book trade in Spain, and, at a young age, moved to Seville, the entrepôt for trade with the Indies. In addition to providing a general overview of his early life, this chapter also elucidates his connections with the most prominent actors in the trans-Atlantic book trade in the seventeenth century, connections that would endure long past his death.

The sections of this chapter move roughly chronologically, tracing Calderón's life and career from Alcalá de Henares to Seville, Spain, and then to Mexico City. The first sections analyze the extant documentary and bibliographical evidence to argue that Calderón's family was well situated economically and socially in Alcalá, and that his father, Diego Guillén, was a canny businessman. Although virtually nothing has emerged from the archives to detail Guillén's activities as a bookseller, the surviving evidence, including economic transactions and his publishing efforts, shows that he married well, was economically well off, and was tied to Alcalá's University and the influential

[1] "Lampiño, los ojos grandes y azules y una señal [de] lamparones en el pescuezo." Physical description of Bernardo Calderón, as it appears in his license to travel to the Indies, AGI, Contratación, 5395, N.72, fol. 34v.

Augustinian, Franciscan, and Jesuit orders. The next sections discuss Bernardo Calderón's move to Seville, his apprenticeship there and his departure for the New World. Although largely undocumented, drawing on what is known of the printers and booksellers from the period and the traces they and Calderón left allows us to make some informed surmises about Calderón's introduction to the trade.

ANCESTRY IN ALCALÁ DE HENARES

Bernardo Calderón was born in the *villa* of Alcalá de Henares in 1603 to Agustina Calderón and Diego Guillén.[2] Located about 30 km east of Madrid, Alcalá de Henares was the birthplace of Cervantes and Antonio de Solís, royal chronicler of the Indies and author of the *Historia de la conquista de México*, one of the most frequently re-printed accounts of the conquest ever produced. Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros founded the Universidad Complutense there in 1499, and it served as a model for universities in the Americas. At least twelve of New Spain's bishops or archbishops prior to 1700, some of whom served as viceroys as well, trained at the University at Alcalá.

The book arts thrived in Alcalá throughout the sixteenth century, also owing to the patronage of Cardinal Cisneros. He brought together biblical manuscripts, scholars and philologists to study them, and master printer Arnao Guillén de Brocar to create what is known as the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. A multilingual text, printed in parallel columns of Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, with Aramaic passages as well, the Complutensian Polyglot includes the first version of the New Testament printed in Greek. Unquestionably one of the highpoints of Renaissance Spain, it required not only vast

[2] In a receipt for income from his inheritance dated 12 April 1623, Bernardo Calderón states "por ser de edad de veinte años menor de veinte y cinco." AHPS, Oficio 19, Alonso Alarcón, vol. 12766, fol. 776v. Testimony in Calderón's license to travel dated 15 June 1626 puts his age at "veinte y cuatro años poco mas o menos," suggesting that he was born in the first half of the year. See AGI, Contratación, 5395, N.72, fol. 34v.

economic resources and tremendous linguistic skill to compile the text prior to printing and correct the sheets after, but also supreme technical skill to cut the Greek and Hebrew typefaces, not to mention skilled compositors to set the type. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, it took almost 20 years to complete, only beginning to circulate circa 1522.

While the Complutensian Polyglot was categorically the zenith of the book arts in Alcalá, by the early seventeenth they were in decline as both Madrid and Medina del Campo began to rise.[3] According to Jesuit Antonio Rubio, author of a commentary on Aristotle that became known as the *Lógica Mexicana*, first published in Alcalá in 1603, by 1605 he chose those of Madrid "since there are more prolific presses here than in Alcalá and I will be able to finish the printing more quickly."[4] Although suffering some decline, the book arts nevertheless remained important to Alcalá de Henares as the seventeenth century progressed.

A tax roll from 1604 provides a fairly complete list of the residences along Alcalá's Calle de Guadalajara, then and now known as the *Calle de los Libreros*, and it reveals that Bernardo Calderón was born into a home that was literally surrounded by printers and booksellers. (See Appendix A for a map of Alcalá de Henares.) Calderón's father, Diego Guillén, owned two houses on the street, one rented to Diego Martínez, a bookseller, the other, his primary residence, was neighbored by booksellers Miguel de Sandí on one side and Hernán Ramírez on the other. Printer Juan Gracián's widow, María de Ramírez, continued his press and owned a number of properties on the street. It was also home to booksellers Juan de Sarriá, Bautista López, and Hernando de Bustamante. A

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[3] Julián Martín Abad. *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares, 1601-1700*. Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1999, Vol. 1, pp. 40-43.

[4] "por haber aquí mas caudalosas imprentas que en Alcalá y poder acabar la impresión mas presto." CESU, Colegio de San Ildefonso , Rectoría, Correspondencia, Caja 96, Exp. 06, Doc. 027. An (unauthorized?) edition was also printed in Cologne in 1605. On Antonio Rubio, see Francisco Zambrano, S.J. *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, México: Editorial Jus.1965, vol. XII, pp. 726-755.

María Sánchez appears on the list, and she may have been related in some way to Francisco and Antonio Sánchez, two booksellers who appear on the census of 1619.[5]

According to a contemporary, Diego de Monroy, Superior (*prepósito*) of the Jesuit Casa Profesa, Calderón's mother, Agustina, along with her sister Clara Eugenia Calderón and two brothers, Francisco Calderón, a Jesuit, and Pablo Calderón, a Franciscan, were reportedly of an "honorable lineage," and their family home in Alcalá de Henares later became an Augustinian convent.[6] Francisco is the best-documented member of this branch of the family. He was born in Alcalá de Henares in 1583, and spent his early years in Alcalá and Segovia. He returned to Alcalá to study at the University and entered the Society of Jesus there. He began his novitiate at Villarejo de Fuentes in 1601, and went to New Spain the following year as one of a group of twenty-three Jesuits led by Alfonso de Castro. He rose in the order, twice serving as Provincial, in 1645 and 1653, and as such played a central role in the Jesuits' conflicts with the Bishop of Puebla, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza.[7]

Diego Guillén, Calderón's father, was the son of Alonso Guillén, a silversmith, and Isabel Espinosa. He had at least three brothers, Agustín, Alonso, and Juan. The latter two were also silversmiths, while *Maestro* Agustín was a cleric and taught at the

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[5] Martín Abad. *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares, 1601-1700*. Vol. I, pp. 44-46, n. 39. See also AMAH, Leg. 274, exp. 2 for the census of 1619.

[6] CESU, Colegio de San Ildefonso, Ramo: Rectoria; Sub-ramo Correspondencia, Caja 97, exp. [not indicated], doc. 065.

[7] According to Julián Gutiérrez Dávila in his *Memorias históricas de la Congregación de el Oratorio de la Ciudad de México*, (México: María de Ribera, 1736), p. 45, Agustina was born in "Loranca," which could refer to Loranca de Tajuña, Loranca del Campo, or Loranca in Fuenlabrada, all three in Castile. Gutiérrez Dávila identifies Pablo Calderón as a Mercedarian, however, Antonio Calderón de Benavides' *méritos*, indicate he was a Franciscan. The *Memorias históricas* also names a Manuel Calderón, Franciscan, though in light of the previous error, it is possible he was a Mercedarian. I have found no further mention of him in the records. AGI, Indiferente, 194, n.39, fol. 301v names General Jerónimo Somonte as Antonio Calderón de Benavides' uncle. AGI, Indiferente, 112, n.120, f. 2r identifies Jerónimo Somonte's parents as Dr. Bartolomé de Somonte and Clara Eugenia Calderón. On Francisco Calderón, see Zambrano. *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*. vol. IV, pp. 514-560.

University. Although occasionally identified as a silversmith as well, Diego was more frequently referred to as a *librero*, a bookseller, and he played a role in the production of at least twenty editions.[8] (See Appendix B for genealogical charts.)

Guillén was clearly on sound financial footing, but his finances were complex. For example, on 13 December 1607, he sold four vineyards on the outskirts of Alcalá for the total price of 1,149,702 *maravedíes*. The properties were encumbered by six *censos,* or liens, that required the payment of 72,150.5 *maravedíes* in annual rents. There were a number of types of *censos*, the two most common being redeemable and perpetual, and different interest rates applied to each of the different kinds, though the most typical was 5% annually, usually paid in trimesters.[9] Guillén was paying approximately 6.3% interest on the outstanding *censos*. Essentially, *censos* functioned as individually issued bonds against real property. The person taking on a *censo* would receive a cash payment for up to the total assessed value of the property and in return pay a stated rate of interest on the principal. The assets thus encumbered could not be sold or otherwise alienated unless the *censo* was redeemed, or, in the case of perpetual *censos*, acknowledged by the buyer. These obligations could be inherited; in such cases heirs were obligated to acknowledge the *censos* and annual rents before a notary.

Guillén had inherited these properties, and most of the liens*,* from his father Alonso; Diego and his wife Agustina had taken on only one of the six *censos*.[10] In

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[8] The most extensive information on Diego Guillén can be found in Bernardo Calderón's license to travel to the Indies, AGI, Contratación, Leg. 5395, n. 72, fol. 10v. The *Catálogo colectivo de patrimonio bibliográfico Español* (www.mcu.es/bibliotecas/MC/CCPB/) is the Spanish national union catalog, and returns eighteen titles funded by ("a costa de" or "expensis") Diego Guillén. A nineteenth can be found in the collection of the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, and the Universal Short Title Catalog locates a twentieth at the University of Cagliari, Italy.

[9] See Joaquín Escriche. *Diccionario razonado de legislación y jurisprudencia, por don Joaquín Escriche,... Nueva edición... por don Juan B. Guim....* Paris: Rosa Bouret y Cia, 1851, pp. 431-434.

[10] AMAH, Leg. 712, exp. 1.

addition to simplifying his financial affairs, the sale of the vineyards allowed him to purchase some substantial urban properties located on Alcalá's Plaza del Palacio, a prestigious location as it fronted on the Palace of the Archbishop of Toledo. Shortly after the sale, between 19 January and 5 April 1608, Guillén negotiated the purchase of "some groups of houses, warehouses, cellars, large earthenware jars, silk-works[?], and rooms and houses attached to the main houses" from his niece Gregoria Hurtado, for the price of 4,200 *reales* (142,800 *maravedíes*).[11] Diego Guillén disappears from the documentary record after September of 1611 and likely died shortly thereafter.[12]

DIEGO GUILLÉN, PUBLISHER

Although primarily a bookseller, Diego Guillén financed the publication of no fewer than twenty editions between 1592 and 1610, ranging from ascetical tracts to legal treatises, from a mathematical manual to commentaries on Aristotle. (See Appendix C for a chronological list of Guillén's publications.) There is no way to determine if Guillén suggested the titles to their printers, or if the printers approached him for financial support, but in reviewing the publications he funded it is clear that he had a keen eye for a good investment. With only one exception, all of the titles that Guillén financed had appeared previously and been tested in the marketplace.[13] The one exception is the work of Juan del Castillo Sotomayor's *Quotidianarum controversiarum juris liber primus.* As

[11] "unas suertes de casas, bodegas, sótanos, tinajas, cederos y cuartos y casas, asesorías principales" AMAH, Leg. 1114, exp. 2. See Glossary for definitions of monetary units.

[12] The last mention of Diego Guillén appeared in a certification of *limpieza de sangre* that appears in Calderón's license to travel done on behalf of Diego Guillén and his brothers in 1609. Guillén requested a fair copy of it in September of 1611. See AGI, Contratación, 5395, N.72, fol. 10r-33v. For Calderón's arrival in Seville see fol. 9r of the same document.

[13] In Clive Griffin's study of the Cromberger family, he notes that they interspersed untested titles with reprints of market-tested titles, see, *The Crombergers of Seville*, pp. 66-70, for example.

"one of the most outstanding Castilian practical commentators," it doubtless had a ready audience among the students of the University at Alcalá.[14]

Guillén's second effort, Pedro Malón de Chaide's *Libro de la Conversión de la Magdalena*, provides an excellent example of his business acumen. The first edition appeared in 1588 in Barcelona, and there were a total of at least eleven editions through the end of the eighteenth century, four of them financed by Diego Guillén (1592, 1593, 1596, 1598). An Augustinian, Malón de Chaide was born in Cascante, Navarre, around 1530 and died in Barcelona in 1589; the *Conversión de la Magdalena* is his only surviving work.[15] Alexander Parker argues that the work directly influenced Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* and that his text was largely responsible for "the transition from idealism to realism in the novel."[16] As such it would not be an exaggeration to say that Diego Guillén himself played a role in that transformation, having financed the second, third, fourth, and fifth editions of the *Conversión*.

Though the evidence is minimal, reviewing the list of publications Guillén financed suggests a general trend from rather conservative investments up to 1598, to more audacious investments from 1603 forward. Malón de Chaide's *Conversión*, for example, is an octavo volume of 369 leaves requiring 46 sheets to produce a single copy, and an edition of 500 copies would have required about 46 reams of paper.[17] For some of

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[14] María Francisca Gámez. "Juan del Castillo Sotomayor." In: *Diccionario crítico de juristas españoles, portugueses y latinoamericanos: (hispánicos, brasileños, quebequenses y restantes francófonos)*, Manuel Peláez. Zaragoza: Cátedra de Historia del Derecho y de las Instituciones Facultad de Derecho Universidad de Málaga, 2005, vol. 1, p. 229.

[15] Félix Malón de Chaide. *La conversión de la Magdalena*. Madrid: Ediciones de "La Lectura," 1930, p. 9-14. As with virtually all of Guillén's publictions, the *Conversión* appeared shortly after the author's death. It is not clear if this was a strategy to avoid paying the authors their due, although further investigation may provide an answer.

[16] Alexander Parker. *Literature and the delinquent: the picaresque novel in Spain and Europe, 1599-1753*. Edinburgh: University press, 1967, p. 21.

[17] Folio volumes (abbreviated 2º) are made up of sheets folded once and are thus the size of a half sheet with four pages per sheet, quartos (abbreviated 4º) are folded twice and are the size of a quarter sheet with eight pages per sheet, etc. Thus a 100 page folio would require 25 sheets, while one of 100 pages in quarto

his other editions, Guillén purchased his paper stock from the Carthusian monastery of Santa María de El Paular in Segovia, and it is possible that this was also true for the *Conversión de la Magdalena.* Although paper prices from the El Paular mill varied between 9 and 14 *reales* per ream during the period Guillén was active, the most frequent prices were 11.5 and 12.5 *reales* per ream.[18]

Using a price of 12 *reales* per ream, the cost of just the paper necessary to produce the *Conversión* was 552 *reales*, or about the cost of 40 lambs or 260 chickens; or over twice the combined annual salaries of a cook, laundress and nurse.[19] Costs for setting and printing the sheets were likewise calculated by the ream, with Madrid prices for the period ranging from 6 ½ to 14 ½ *reales* per ream depending on the difficulty of the text to be set and the print-run. The most frequent prices were between 7 ½ and 9 ½ *reales* per ream.[20] Using a price of 7 ½ *reales*, a print run of 500 copies at 46 sheets per copy would have cost 345 *reales* for setting and printing, for a total cost of 897 *reales* plus the cost of incidentals such as applying for the *tasa*, the official pricing of the volume. A single volume, therefore, cost approximately 1 *real*, 27 *maravedíes* to produce. The official price set for the volume was 3 *maravedíes* per sheet, resulting in a price of just over 4 *reales* per copy. Again, using a hypothetical 500 copy print-run, the

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would require only 12.5 sheets. During the period, reams of paper consisted of either 480 sheets or 500 sheets, and there was always some damage during cartage and there would always be a certain amount of wastage during the printing process, thus these figures are rough estimates of the minimum amount of paper required. For a thorough introduction to book formats, printing processes, binding, etc. during the hand press period, see, Philip Gaskell. *A new introduction to bibliography*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1972.

[18] Cristóbal Pérez Pastor. "Impresores y libreros de Madrid. Documentos referentes a ellos." In *Memorias de la Real Academia Española*. Madrid, 1926, vol. 13, pp. 279-317. On the El Paular mill, see, Oriol Valls I Subirà, *The History of Paper in Spain*. Madrid, 1978-1982, vol. III, pp. 79-106 and Herrero García. "El molino de papel del Paular." In: *El libro Español*. Madrid: Instituto Nacional del Libro Español. Vol. 1 (4) 1958, pp. 167-171.

[19] Earl Hamilton. *American treasure and the price revolution in Spain, 1501-1650*. New York: Octagon Books, 1965, pp. 382-383, 400.

[20] Cristóbal Pérez Pastor. *Bibliografía madrileña : ó, descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid*. Madrid: Tipografía de los Huérfanos, 1891-1907. *Passim*.

investment of 897 *reales* would have returned gross revenues of 2,000 *reales* and net 1,103 *reales* profit. It is unlikely that Guillén retained all of the net profit, as the Augustinian convent commissioned the publication, but even if he was rewarded with only half of it, he would have more than doubled his investment, and this for only the first of four editions of the *Conversión* he financed.[21]

Guillén continued funding publications fairly steadily through 1598, with an apparent hiatus from that date until 1603.[22] In light of the fact that Bernardo Calderón was born in the latter year, the gap in Guillén's editorial activity may indicate that he was otherwise occupied in courtship, marriage and establishing a household during that period. After 1603, Guillén appears to have invested in more substantial productions, such as Castillo Sotomayor's *Quotidianarum controversiarum* where a single copy required 209 sheets, and the *Obras* of Louis de Blois, a work "of enormous impact at the time," where a single copy required 208 sheets.[23] An impressive folio volume of 832 pages, it was printed by Juan de la Cuesta in 1605, the same year that de la Cuesta printed the first edition of *Don Quijote*. Roger Chartier suggests that Cervantes had his protagonist comment approvingly of Guillén's edition of Blois in the text of *Don Quijote*. "'These,' he said, 'are the books that ought to be printed… for many are the sinners these days, and an infinite number of lights are required for all those that are in darkness'."[24]

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[21] I have attempted to be cautious with the calculations that appear here and in Chapter 5. There are many unknowns, particularly surrounding print runs even if a specific number is mentioned in the documentary record. I include these examples primarily as illustrations to offer a general sense of what may have taken place, rather than definitively argued proofs.

[22] In light of his four previous editions of the *Conversión*, it is odd to note an edition from 1603 funded not by Guillén but by bookseller Lorenzo Blanco. Of course, Guillén may have helped to fund other titles that have not been catalogued or not survived.

[23] Pedro Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: el comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)*. Sevilla; Madrid: Universidad de Sevilla; Diputación de Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2005, pp. 344-346.

[24] Cited in: Roger Chartier. *Inscription and erasure: literature and written culture from the eleventh to the eighteenth century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, pp. 37-38.

Again, assuming a print run of 500 copies, the *Obras* required over 208 reams of paper, for a minimum investment of almost 2,496 *reales*, or slightly more than half of the price of the houses on the Plaza de Palacio that Guillén purchased some years later. Considering the popularity of Blois's text, it should not be surprising that the print run was higher than the conservative estimate of 500 copies, and Guillén purchased a more-than-sufficient amount of paper for the task on 12 June 1604. On that date, he purchased 740 reams of paper at 11 ½ *reales* per ream (8,510 *reales*, more than double the price of the houses on the Plaza del Palacio) from the El Paular monastery, enough for over 1,770 copies of the *Obras,* and the date roughly coincides with Guillén's contract with de la Cuesta to print 1750 copies, dated 21 June 1604.[25] De la Cuesta charged 7 ½ *reales* per ream for setting and printing the 208 sheets (5,460 *reales*); thus, together with the paper, the total cost of production was 13,970 *reales*, plus incidentals.[26] The book was priced at 4 *maravedíes* per sheet (24 *reales*, 16 *maravedíes* per copy). If each copy sold at that price, the gross revenue from the 1,750 copies would have been 42,823 ½ *reales*, netting 28,853 ½ *reales* over the 13,970 *reales* invested. Again, it is unlikely that Guillén realized anywhere near that amount, with the majority perhaps going to whomever commissioned the publication, or booksellers who received bulk orders at a discount, yet he undoubtedly made out quite well.

While primarily a bookseller, in his career as a publisher between 1591 and 1610, Diego Guillén worked with printers in both Alcalá de Henares and in Madrid, though most frequently with Juan Gracián and his widow, María de Ramírez, in Alcalá.

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[25] Pérez Pastor. "Impresores y libreros de Madrid. Documentos referentes a ellos," pp. 307-308, 422. The dates of "12 June" and "21 June" deserve comment. Cases of the transposition of sorts when setting type were not infrequent, thus it is quite possible that the two dates that appear in Pérez Pastor's text could in fact be the same. Francisco Rico, *El Texto del "Quijote." Preliminares a una ecdótica del siglo de oro*. Valladolid: Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2005. p.495

[26] Pérez Pastor. *Bibliografía madrileña*. Vol. II, p. 135.

Printer	Location	Number of editions	Dates
Juan Gracián and widow	Alcalá de Henares	6	1591-1608
Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica	Alcalá de Henares	5	1592-1596
Ludovico Martínez Grande	Alcalá de Henares	3	1609
Andrés Sánchez de Espéltea	Alcalá de Henares	2	1609-1610
Pedro Madrigal	Madrid	1	1598
Luís Sánchez	Madrid	1	1598
Justo Sánchez Crespo	Alcalá de Henares	1	1604
Juan de la Cuesta	Madrid	1	1605

Table 2: Printers of Guillén's publications

The Madrid presses of Pedro Madrigal and Juan de la Cuesta were essentially the same, with de la Cuesta taking over the former's business in 1604 upon his marriage to María de Quiñones, widow of Madrigal's son. It was also linked to Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica in Alcalá, as Pedro Madrigal had married Iñiguez's widow, María Rodríguez Rivalde. Likewise, the Alcalá printing houses of Justo Sánchez Crespo and Andrés Sánchez de Espéltea were the same, as the two were father and son. Juan Gracián's printers' device appeares in some editions by Sánchez de Ezpéleta, raising the possibility that the two were in some ways allied. Like de la Cuesta, Luís Sánchez was one of Madrid's most important printers, from 1607 using the title of "Printer to the King."[27] Little is known of Ludovico Martínez Grande. In other words, while most of Guillén's titles were commissioned from printing houses in Alcalá de Henares, when he funded publications in Madrid, he did so with the city's most prominent printers. There is no clear evidence linking Guillén with Seville or the book trade there, however, virtually all the titles he published were exported to the Americas.

[27] Juan Delgado Casado. *Diccionario de impresores españoles* (siglos XV-XVII). Madrid: Arco Libros, 1996, Vol. II, p. 636. See also the respective entries for these printers in Delgado Casado's *Diccionario*.

GUILLÉN'S PUBLICATIONS IN THE *CARRERA DE INDIAS*

While multiple editions and market-tested titles provide one measure of Diego Guillén's business acumen, the distribution of his texts offers another. Although one can rarely identify whether the titles listed on bills of lading or cataloged in viceregal libraries and bookstores correspond to the editions that Guillén funded—and it should be recalled that virtually all of them were reproduced in multiple editions over many years—the wide distribution of the titles Guillén chose to finance is one index of their success in the marketplace, and thus of his ability to pick saleable titles. Pedro Rueda's study of books sent to the Indies reveals that Guillén produced some of the best sellers of the trans-Atlantic book trade. For example, the *Epístolas y evangelios según lo tiene y canta la santa madre Iglesia Romana*, attributed to Ambrosio Montesino, was a partial vernacular translation of the Bible. First printed as early as 1512, it was prohibited by the Index of 1559. It was permitted again with the Index of 1583, and saw republication in 1586, 1597, 1608, 1615 and later. Diego Guillén financed the edition of 1608 and Rueda found eleven shipments for a total of twenty-eight copies of the *Epístolas* sent between 1601 and 1621.[28] Juan Pérez de Moya's *Aritmética práctica y especulativa*, an edition of which Guillén funded in 1578, appeared in seventeen shipments between 1601 and 1644 in lots of one to ten copies.[29] His was one of the most popular mathematical manuals in Spain, and it reached no fewer than thirty editions through the end of the eighteenth century.[30] More substantially, between 1601 and 1650, Rueda found sixty-three shipments of Francisco de Toledo's *De instructione sacerdotum*, for a total of 254 copies, and ninety-

[28] Rueda Ramírez. *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 299.
[29] Rueda Ramírez. *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, pp. 422-423.
[30] Juan Pérez de Moya. *Aritmética práctica y especulativa varia historia de sanctas e ilustres mujeres*. Consolación Baranda. Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1998, p. ix.

seven shipments of the *Obras* of Louis de Blois for a total of 375 copies sent to the Indies.[31]

In total, Rueda's study identifies on shipping manifests from Seville to the New World eight of the twenty titles Guillén funded. Though the remaining twelve do not appear, all but one of the titles can be found listed on bookstore inventories presented to the Inquisition of Mexico.[32] Finally, the famed library of Melchor Pérez de Soto, architect of the cathedral of Mexico brought before the Inquisition in 1654, included four of the titles Guillén funded, Ortiz Lúcio's, *Lugares comunes,* Ayerve de Ayora's *Tractatus*, Moreno's *Jornadas para el cielo*, and Pérez de Moya's *Aritmética practica*.[33] In sum, Guillén adroitly selected the titles he invested in, picking titles that had been and continued to be successful in the marketplace. Of his activities as a bookseller, his principal occupation, the archives have yet to reveal any traces; however, the substantial investments he made in his publishing efforts suggest a brisk and growing trade over his lifetime. Although it seems unlikely that Calderón learned these arts at the foot of his father, who most likely died prior to his son's tenth year, Calderón's subsequent career suggests that he may have followed a similar model.

BERNARDO CALDERÓN, FROM ALCALÁ DE HENARES TO SEVILLE

From Bernardo Calderón's license to travel to the Indies, it would appear that he was sent to Seville alone in 1613, most likely with the intention that he apprentice there.[34] Although ten years of age would seem to be too young for the heavy labor of heaving at

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[31] Rueda Ramírez. *Negocio e intercambio cultural,* pp. 311, 345.
[32] Edmundo O'Gorman. "Bibliotecas y Librerías Coloniales, 1585-1694. Memorias detalladas de los libros que las formaban, con relación detallada de sus autores y propietarios." In: Archivo General de la Nación (México). *Boletín* (Primera Serie), Tomo X, no. 4 (octubre-diciembre) (1939): 663-1000.
[33] Donald Castanien. "A seventeenth century Mexican library and the Inquisition," Ph.D. Thesis. (History), Univ. of Michigan, 1951, pp. 161, 207, 248, 250-251.
[34] AGI, Contratación, 5395, N.72, fol. 9r.

the bar of a press, it would not have been too young for the duties of a *librero*, a "printers devil" doing odd jobs in the shop, or even for the nimble tasks required of a compositor. Youthful apprentices were by no means uncommon in the printing trade. Pérez Pastor notes a contract between the Madrid bookseller Juan Martínez and ten year old Hernando de Sosa, and Lisbon printer Pedro Craesbeeck began his apprenticeship with Christopher Plantin in Antwerp at the age of eleven. In British North America, Isaiah Thomas began as an apprentice at age six, Benjamin Franklin at twelve, and William Bradford at thirteen.[35] Having grown up literally surrounded by printers and booksellers in Alcalá, it is probable that Calderón's training had already begun well before his arrival in Seville.

Calderón's move to Seville may reflect an acknowledgment that Alcalá's fortunes were on the decline while Seville's trade with the Indies was still robust; in any event, ties between printers and booksellers in Alcalá and Seville were strong. For example, Clive Griffin cites a reciprocal agreement from 1525 between Jacobo Cromberger of Seville and Miguel de Eguia of Alcalá for the exchange of their respective publications, and in 1604 Diego Guillén's neighbor, Juan de Sarriá, contracted Seville exporter Antonio de Toro to send a shipment worth 6,800 *reales* to New Spain.[36] In later years, Antonio de Toro and Bernardo Calderón were closely tied, and it was precisely in 1613, around the time Calderón arrived in Seville, that Antonio de Toro's name began to appear

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[35] Pérez Pastor. "Impresores y libreros de Madrid. Documentos referentes a ellos," p. 274; and H. Bernstein. *Pedro Craesbeeck & Sons: 17th century publishers to Portugal and Brazil*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1987, p. 2. Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer*, Charlottesville; The University Press of Virginia, 1964, pp. 156-157.

[36] Clive Griffin. *The Crombergers of Seville: the history of a printing and merchant dynasty*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 11. Rueda Ramírez. *Negocio e intercambio cultural,* pp. 48-50.

with greater frequently in the lists of shipments to the Indies. Thus there may have been more than coincidence behind the date of Bernardo's arrival in Seville.[37]

Illustration 1: Seville *circa* 1602, from Samuel de Champlain, *Briefe discours des choses plus remarquables que Samuel Champlain de Brouage á reconnues aux Indes occidentales.*

[37] Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, "El librero sevillano Antonio de Toro en el negocio del libro con América durante el siglo XVII." In: *Impresos y libros en la historia económica de México*, María Gutiérrez Lorenzo, Guadalajara, Jalisco, México: Univ. de Guadalajara, 2007, p. 50.

If, as appears likely, Calderón apprenticed as a *librero* with Antonio de Toro in Seville, with whom did he apprentice as a printer? In the absence of a signed contract, one can only hazard conjectures. Although as many as twenty-two printers opperated in Seville between 1613 and 1626, far fewer could be considered likely candidates for Calderón's apprenticeship. Of these twenty-two, only nine were active for periods long enough to instruct an apprentice over the three to four years necessary.

Bartolomé Gómez de Pastrana	1603-1622
Pedro Gómez de Pastrana	1625-1649
Alonso Rodríguez Gamarra	1604-1622
Matías Clavijo	1608-1635
Gabriel Ramos Bejarano	1609-1624
Diego Pérez	1610-1633
Luís Estupiñán	1610-1633
Francisco de Lyra	1611-1650
Juan Serrano de Vargas Urueña	1617-1625
Simón Fajardo	1622-1650

Table 3: Calderón's possible master printers[38]

While all nine of these printers endured long enough to instruct an apprentice, only Francisco de Lyra and Bartolomé Gómez de Pastrana stand out as likely candidates. The output of the other seven was concentrated on sermons, the newssheets known as *relaciones de sucesos*, and other ephemera, while Lyra and Gómez de Pastrana's productions included both major and minor works. Evidence suggests, however, that Lyra was the most likely. For example, Antonio de Toro funded publications by Lyra in 1623 and 1627, linking Calderón's two likely masters. In addition, in 1641 Toro's son-in-law, Juan López Ramón, paid the *fianza*, essentially, the bail, on Lyra's behalf after prohibited books were found in his shop. Finally, both Lyra and Gómez de Pastrana sent sons to the

[38] Delgado Casado. *Diccionario*. Vol. II, p. 73

Indies to work in the book trade. A Francisco Gómez de Pastrana was active in Lima between 1630 and 1643, and a Martín de Pastrana, perhaps related to Gómez de Pastrana, printed one book in Mexico in 1623. Like Calderón, Francisco de Lyra's son Luís, active in Lima from 1641, founded a dynasty of printers active in America through the 1720s.[39]

Although her son had moved to Seville as early as 1613, Agustina Calderón remained in Alcalá until as late as 1625; her second husband, Antonio Sánchez, was noted on the Alcalá census as late as 1619, and on 20 December 1618, the two jointly contracted a debt of 4,945 *reales* with the Carthusian monastery of El Paular, doubtless for paper produced by the monastery's mill.[40] That sum would have been sufficient to purchase 395-430 reams of paper for the three books Antonio Sánchez funded with Alcalá printer Juan Gracián the following year.[41] Agustina Calderón arrived in Seville no later than 19 March 1625, the date of her marriage to her third husband, Portuguese-born José Montero, also a bookseller, and, discounting a scribal error, a mere three years older than her son Bernardo.[42] Antonio de Toro, by that time the most prominent figure in the Seville book trade, was one of the witnesses to the nuptials and in subsequent years Montero traveled with Toro's shipments of books to the Indies and collected debts there on Toro's behalf.[43]

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[39] Delgado Casado. *Diccionario*. Vol. I, pp. 404-405.

[40] AMAH, leg 274, exp. 2; AHPS, vol. 12790, vol. 647v-650r.

[41] Pérez Pastor. "Impresores y libreros de Madrid. Documentos referentes a ellos," pp. 279-317. The three books funded by Antonio Sánchez were: Francisco Alcoçer. *Confesionario breve y provechoso para los penitentes*. En Alcalá de Henares: en casa de Juan Gracián; a costa de Antonio Sánchez, 1619; Ginés Pérez de Hita. *Historia de los bandos de los zegris y abencerrajes caballeros moros de Granada, de las Civiles Guerras que hubo en ella y batallas... entre moros y cristianos hasta que el rey don Fernando quinto la*. En Alcalá: en casa de Juan Gracián ...;a costa de Antonio Sánchez ..., 1619; and Juan Pérez de Moya. *Aritmética practica y especulativa*. En Alcalá: en casa de Juan Gracián que sea en gloria a costa de Antonio Sánchez mercader de libros, 1619.

[42] Montero's name appears variously in the documents as "Jussepe" and "Josephe". Lyra also descended from Portuguese printers and booksellers, perhaps adding weight to the suggestion above that Calderón apprenticed with him.

[43] Archivo del Sagrario Metropolitano, Seville, Spain. Libro de Casamientos 1620-1627, fol. 209r. AHPS, 12908, fol. 546r-v.

By 1626, Calderón was a *librero*, established on the Calle de Génova (today, Avenida de la Constitución), where he gave his *poder* to Francisco Bellero, jointly with the other booksellers of Seville, to appear before the Council of the Indies and request exemption from a proposed levy of 1% on printed books.[44] At twenty-three, he was most likely not independently established but instead working in Antonio de Toro's shop.

DEPARTURE FOR NEW SPAIN

Bernardo Calderón left for the New World in 1626 as the servant (*criado*) of one Francisco Michél, little more than one month after granting his *poder* to Francisco Bellero. It appears likely that Calderón's departure was arranged in haste, without much prior contact between the two. In documents such as the *poder* to Bellero, if the signer was about to depart for the Indies, there was frequently some indication to that effect, yet there was no such indication here, nor any further documentation linking Calderón and Francisco Michél. Michél had only recently arrived in Seville, with the intention of traveling to Peru, but after the fleet for Tierra Firme had left, thus he requested to travel there via New Spain. Travel to the Indies required royal permission, and Michél had a royal *cédula* allowing him to bring a *criado* with him. By traveling as his servant, Calderón simply had to submit his genealogy, or *probanza de limpieza de sangre,* as a part of the licensing procedures rather than seek royal permission. Their licenses were approved and it is not clear if Calderón first traveled to Tierra Firme and remained in New Spain on his return, or if the Atlantic passage was sufficiently uncomfortable that he chose to stay in New Spain immediately. However, the evidence strongly suggests that Calderón was a true journeyman at this point, traveling the length of the network from

[44] AHPS leg. 12787, Oficio 19, Año 1626, lib. 3, fol. 881r-882v. I am grateful to Pedro Rueda Ramírez for sharing this document with me. See also AGN Matrimonios Exp. 88, exp. 63, fol. 181v. A study of the Bellero family, with a network that stretched from Antwerp to Seville to Mexico City, and likely Lima and Manila as well, is sorely needed.

Seville to Lima, only settling in Mexico on his return.[45] Contemporary testimony conflicts somewhat, indicating that Calderón arrived in Mexico either in 1626 or 1627, but agrees that he opened his bookstore on Calle San Agustín only in early 1628, when he would have reached twenty-five, the age of majority.

Illustration 2: Juan Gómez de Trasmonte. *Forma y Levantado de La Ciudad de México*, 1628. Original at the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

[45] AGI, Contratación, 5395, N.72, 15 June 1626.

A document renewing the rental on his house and bookstore dated 1 July 1631 located the shop between the houses of don Miguel de Cuevas and Miguel de Mondejar and owned by the Colegio de San Juan Letrán. Some years earlier, Calderón's premises had been acquired by the Colegio from the entail belonging to doña Ana Carrillo de Peralta who had married into the family of conquistador Jerónimo López.[46] The property was rented to Calderón for the price of 200 pesos per year. Other houses on Calle San Agustín, also owned by the Colegio de San Juan Letrán and rented in 1631 and 1632 were let for 72, 100 ("houses and shops"), and 150 ("with its coach house") pesos per year, suggesting not only that Calderón's abode was ample and well appointed, but that he was in sound financial shape despite the flood that had struck Mexico City in late 1629 and left much of the city under water until 1634.[47]

The first documentary notice placing Bernardo Calderón in Mexico City, however, results from his denunciation to the Holy Office of the Inquisition for having brought books from Spain, supposedly without the necessary licenses, dated 26 March 1628. The denunciation was entered by Dr. Bartolomé González Soltero, *fiscal* of the Inquisition, saying only that Calderón's shop had "come to his notice," without naming from whom. However, Calderón's later conflicts with Francisco Salbago, who began as a printer and bookseller in 1629, the year following the denunciation, strongly suggests that it may have been him.[48] Witnesses on behalf of Bernardo Calderón were booksellers

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[46] Robert Himmerich y Valencia. *The Encomenderos of New Spain, 1521-1555*. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1996. p. 183.

[47] AGNot Juan López, Esc. 335, vol. 2224, fol. 9r (1631), fol. 10 r-v (1631), fol. 3r-4v (1632), fol. 19r-20v (1632).

[48] Although Medina and others over-correct the spelling of Salbago's name to "Salvago," the latter spelling appears in only two of Salbago's thirty-one cataloged imprints, and his name always appears as "Salbago" in the documents he signed. See AGNot, Esc. 106, José de la Cruz, vol. 720, fol. 231v, and "Genealogy of Francisco Salbag [sic] petitioner for a post As Familiar of the Inquisition in New Spain," Mexican Inquisition Original Documents Organized by Collection and Bancroft Manuscript Classification, BANC MSS M-M 147:4, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Simón de Toro and Francisco Clarín, Antonio de Toro's son and son-in-law, respectively, and Diego de Ribera. The latter was the son of bookseller Pablo de Ribera, originally from Jerez de la Frontera, settled in Mexico no later than 1581, and perhaps as early as 1570, and who served as *corrector de libros*, expurgating books on behalf of the Inquisition.[49] In his testimony he indicated that Calderón had arrived with "four or five boxes of books" in 1627, and received another four boxes with the fleet of 1628, sent by Luís Mexía. According to Ribera, Calderón's bookstore on *Calle San Agustín* had been open only for a few days and he intended to close it down and return to Spain.[50] Francisco Clarín and Simón de Toro could only add that Calderón's books had been reviewed by the Jesuits Juan de Ledesma and Toribio Gómez. Both Clarín and Toro, who were more closely connected to Calderón than Ribera, indicated that he had arrived no later than October of 1626. Contrasted with Ribera's testimony that he had arrived in 1627, a journey to Peru via New Spain in 1626 with permanent settlement in Mexico in 1627 seems likely.

In the event, however, Bernardo Calderón's run-in with the Inquisition came to naught. Other than the initial denunciation and the depositions by Ribera, Clarín and Toro, the documents include no deliberations or conclusions, nor any apparent penalty to Calderón. Although Ribera's testimony indicated Calderón was preparing to return to

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[49] An Elvira de Ribera, native of Jerez de la Frontera, unmarried daughter of Diego García de Ribera and Mayor Núñez was entered as a passenger for the New Spain on 5 September 1570; see AGI Contratación, 5537, L.3, f.411v. See also Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI*, México; Archivo General de la Nación; 2002, p. 390. Diego de Ribera was born in Mexico City in 1582.

[50] AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 367, Exp. 8. Rueda Ramírez. "El librero sevillano Antonio de Toro en el negocio del libro con América durante el siglo XVII," p. 51. Although his settling on Calle San Agustín may have been simply convenient, or chosen for commercial reasons, considering that from the early seventeenth century it was referred to as "Calle San Agustín de los mercaderes," it may also have been from personal affinity, recalling that his ancestral home, that of his mother Agustina, became an Augustinian convent and that Saint Augustine of Hippo is the patron saint of printers.

Spain, later testimony dated his return to the following year, 1629.[51] Had he indeed departed in 1628, he would have been a passenger on the ill-fated fleet captured by Dutch pirate, Piet Heyn; but instead, prior to his departure, on 25 February 1629 Calderón married Paula de Benavides, aged 20, native of Mexico, daughter of Gabriel López de Benavides and María de los Reyes, natives of Torrijos, outside of Toledo.[52]

CONCLUSION

Having first traveled to New Spain as a servant, Calderón's marriage in New Spain may have been motivated by practical concerns as much as any other. The crown sought to keep couples together, and returning from Spain to a wife in Mexico City would—as with his initial voyage—minimize the bureaucratic process of gaining permission to travel. Paula de Benavides' parents had arrived in New Spain in 1600, bringing with them their two children, Úrsula, aged two, and Gabriel, aged six months.[53] It appears that there was at least one other child born to the family in addition to Paula, a son Joseph.[54] The family was no doubt well to do, or at least became so in New Spain, with Úrsula marrying captain Juan de Vera in 1641, merchant, *hacendado* and related to the treasurer of the royal mint. Brother Gabriel became prominent in the Franciscan order, standing in the elections for Provincial in 1656.[55]

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[51] LOC, Hans P. Kraus Collection, Peti[ción] y Genealojía [sic] del Br. Antonio Calderón y Br. Diego Calderón su hermano, fol. 95v-98r.

[52] AGN, Matrimonios, Vol. 88, Exp. 63, fol. 180r-182r. Interestingly, Gabriel López de Benavides had taken his father's name after his arrival in New Spain. In his travel papers he was identified as Juan Fernández. See AGI Contratación, 5263A, N.2, R.32, fol. 1r.

[53] AGI, Contratación, 5263A, N.2, R.32.

[54] AHAM, Caja 85, exp. 4 names Joseph de Benavides as Úrsula's brother. There is also a "Joseph de Benavides, mercader de cajón" named in AGNot, Esc 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4601, fol. 95r-v. An Antonio de Benavides appears as Paula de Benavides' guarantor in AGN, General de Parte, vol. 8, exp. 75, fol. 52v, but his relationship to Paula is unclear.

[55] ASMM, Registros parroquiales, 1620-1648; INAH, Colección Antigua, T.2, Num. 29, fol. 258r.

Bernardo Calderón arrived in Mexico with substantial business and family relationships, both in Mexico and in Spain, and these relationships only grew more substantial over time. These ties aided him during his confrontation with the Inquisition, and would help him to acquire his press and viceregal privileges, as the following chapter argues, and these local and transatlantic links endured following his death, helping to ensure his descendants' continued success.

Chapter 2: Bernardo Calderón in New Spain

"Oh what golden times were these!"[1]

What was the competitive environment that Bernardo Calderón encountered in New Spain? What challenges and obstacles did he face over the course of a nine-year career, and how did he confront them? Seeking answers to these questions helps to provide a more robust biography of Bernardo Calderón while at the same time arguing that printers and booksellers were intimately intertwined with larger controversies and conflicts of the period; specifically, with the perennial conflicts between viceroys and archbishops. The broad contours of these controversies and conflicts are well known. Other than their principal protagonists, however, how individual actors navigated them, far less so. In addition to providing insight into the operations of the book trade in seventeenth-century Mexico, tracing the lives and careers of Bernardo Calderón and his competitors helps us to better understand how non-elite actors engaged with and interacted with these larger-scale conflicts.

The following sections, focusing on how Calderón acquired his press and his brief career, dip back into the sixteenth century. Calderón and his main competitor, Francisco Salbago, both acquired their materials between 1629 and 1631 in ways that were by no means typical of previous generations. Thus a survey of the lineages of the presses argues that this juncture represents a profound break with the past. At the same time, however, the competition between Calderón and Salbago over the monopoly on ephemeral primers known as *cartillas* was a continuation of a conflict that had its origin in the sixteenth

[1] "O que tiempo dorado era este!" Anonymous note on an otherwise blank sheet, 1631. AGNot, Esc. 374, Andrés Moreno, vol. 24, fol. 73r. At this point, much of Mexico City had been under water since 1629.

century and was one manifestation of larger conflicts between archbishops and viceroys. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of some aspects of Calderón's output alongside those of his competitors to argue that the various conflicts discussed in this chapter are not only reflected in the bibliographical record, but also that extant imprints support the interpretation of the documentary record given here.

PRINTING HOUSES IN MEXICO, *CIRCA* 1628

When Bernardo Calderón settled in Mexico there were only three presses active in the city, those of Juan Ruiz, Juan Blanco de Alcázar, and Ana de Herrera, the widow of Diego Garrido. Juan Ruiz was related in some way to engineer, Inquisition interpreter, and printer Enrico Martínez.[2] He first appears in 1612, working as a compositor for Diego López Dávalos, and issued twelve pieces on his own from 1613 to 1616.[3] He went silent from 1617-1621, only to reappear in 1622 with the long-delayed publication of the Third Mexican Council, held in 1585. It is possible that during those years Ruiz was working for bookseller Diego Garrido, who acquired Diego López Dávalos' materials no later than 1620.

The second was that of Juan Blanco de Alcázar, one of the most curious figures in the history of printing in New Spain. He first appears in the documentary record as early as 1608, making a loan of 80 pesos to weaver Domingo de Ulloa and his wife, Isabel de Hubera.[4] In 1610, Blanco de Alcázar rented "an upper room with three below and an entryway" from Antonia Dávila for a period of one year at a price of 36 pesos; if this was

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[2] Francisco Pérez Salazar argues that Ruiz was Martinez's son, based on the former's declaration in his testament. He does, however, admit the possibility that other documents indicate that he may have been illegitimate, or perhaps that Martinez was the second husband of Juana Leonor, Ruiz's mother, and essentially "adopted" her son. *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial,* pp. 174-178.

[3] José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. I, p. CXXI.

[4] AGNot, José Rodríguez, Esc. 555, vol. 3836, 19 August 1608, fol. 1531v-1532v.

his residence, such a low price indicates a very modest abode.[5] The first notice of him as a printer comes in July 1615, receiving payment from the *fiscal* of the Inquisition for printing edicts. At the time, he was acting as the administrator for María de Espinosa's press. She was the widow of Diego López Dávalos and daughter of Mexico's second printer, Antonio de Espinosa. Blanco de Alcázar began working independently in 1617 and continued with jobs for the Inquisition in 1619 and 1620.[6] He most likely obtained his materials from the widow and descendants of Pedro Balli, if only because their names disappear from the bibliographical record at that time.

Blanco de Alcázar was quite active between 1617 and late 1628, and, aside from one very odd and likely fictitious imprint from 1637, he did not reappear until 1646, having relocated to Puebla. His disappearance can be explained by the fact that he had been jailed by the Inquisition. According to Medina, a scurrilous pamphlet defaming viceroy Marqués de Cerralvo had been published and investigations determined that Juan Blanco de Alcázar was its printer.[7] He was quite lucky. According to the *Recopilación de las leyes de España*, the penalty for such printing was death and forfeiture of all property.[8] His silence following 1628 suggests that he may indeed have suffered a forfeiture of property, and his reappearance in Puebla years later suggests that he may have been exiled from Mexico City at this point.

The third printing office was that of Ana de Herrera, the widow of Diego Garrido. Diego Garrido first appears as a merchant in 1615, with a shop on the corner of Calle

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[5] "un aposento alto con tres bajos y un zaguán" AGNot, José Rodríguez, Esc. 555, vol. 3837, 24 March 1610, fol. 617v-618r.

[6] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 468, fol. 206r; fol. 29v-33v.

[7] Although Medina dated this event to 1630, his disappearance from the bibliographical record following 1628 suggests that it occurred earlier. Medina *La imprenta en México*, vol. VIII, p. 315, and Chocano Mena "Imprenta e impresores de Nueva España," p. 11.

[8] Libro VIII, titulo XVI, ley III (1558).

Tacuba, where he sold books produced by Juan Ruiz and María de Espinosa.[9] He first appears as a printer in 1620, employing the compositors Cornelio Adrián César and Pedro Gutiérrez. In a revealing document dated 7 October 1622, Cornelio Adrián César claimed to be working in the office of "the heirs of Diego López [Dávalos]" when Juan Blanco de Alcázar entered and demanded to take over. According to César, Blanco was incompetent, "not knowing what he's doing even now."[10] As the only printers active from 1621-1623 were Blanco de Alcázar himself, Juan Ruiz, and Diego Garrido, and, as Enrico Martínez's son, Juan Ruiz can be ruled out as Diego López Dávalos' heir, Diego Garrido remains as the only possible option, yet the line of inheritance is unclear.[11] In any event, the continuity in compositor Cornelio Adrián César's employment between López Dávalos and Garrido and the continued use of the same type and ornaments in the imprints produced by them indicates that López Dávalos' materials passed to Diego Garrido. Thus of the three active presses in 1628, we know that Juan Ruiz continued operating, but the Garrido and Blanco de Alcázar materials changed hands. For a variety of reasons, and by mechanisms that remain to be documented, it is clear that Juan Blanco de Alcázar's went to the merchant Francisco Salbago, and Diego Garrido's went to Bernardo Calderón.

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[9] *Advertencias para mayor noticia de la gramática y reducir al uso y ejercicios los preceptos de ella*. México: En Casa de Juan Ruiz, véndese en la tienda de Diego Garrido, à la esquina de la Calle de Tacuba, 1615; and Francisco Hernández, *Cuatro libros. De la naturaleza, y virtudes de las plantas, y animales que están recibidos en el uso de medicina en la Nueva España, y la método, y corrección, y preparación, que para administrarlas se requiere con lo que el doctor Francisco Hernández escribió en lengua Latina* ... En México, en casa de la viuda de Diego López Dávalos, Vende[n]se en la tienda de Diego Garrido, en la esquina de la calle de Tacuba, y en la Portería de S. Domingo. 1615. Medina 288 and 297, respectively.

[10] "no sabiendo lo que se hacia hasta ahora." AGN, Inquisición, vol. 335, exp. 11.

[11] AGN, Inquisición vol. 335, exp. 11. Shortly before the defense of this dissertation, Juan Pascoe brought to my attention two ephemeral imprints by the "heirs of Diego López Dávalos" from 1616, housed at the AGN. Personal communication, 23 April 2013. I continue to suspect some relationship between López Dávalos and Garrido, and the question deserves greater scrutiny.

FRANCISCO SALBAGO AND THE BLANCO DE ALCÁZAR PRESS

Francisco Salbago was born in the *villa* of Alhendín, "one league" south-southwest of Granada, in October of 1595 and was baptized there on the 22nd of that month. According to his *probanza de limpieza de sangre*, done in Cádiz on 29 November 1618, his parents were Juan Baptista de Salbago and Isabel Cabello, and they had their "fields and houses" in Alhendín. His siblings, Juan Bautista Salbago, María Cabello, and fray Blas Muñoz of the Order of the Holy Trinity, were all living in Alhendín or Granada at that time, and his mother had died about six months earlier (late-May or early-June 1618).

Salbago left for the New World in 1614, just shy of his nineteenth birthday, though his license to travel to the Indies appears not to have survived. Judging by the surnames of the witnesses who provided testimony on Salbago's behalf for his 1618 *limpieza de sangre* (Isabel Cabello, Beatriz Cabello, along with her husband, Gaspar Salcedo, Royal notary (*escribano real)*, and the latter's niece María Salcedo), it appears that he had relatives living in Cádiz at the time.[12]

Although Salbago began as a printer in 1629, he had some relationship with the trade as early as 1622. On November 29th of that year, he appeared as a "merchant on the Calle de la Acequia" and purchased from Andrés López Tocina Sarmentador:

> 4,000 *estampas*, each of a half-sheet, priced at 10 pesos per 1,000
> 2,000 *estampas*, on double-folio sheets, priced at 30 pesos per 1,000
> 12 dozen *estampas*, each of six sheets, priced at 3 pesos 4 *tomines* each
> 3 reams of paper at 23 *reales* each
> 4 dozen packets of pins at 11 pesos

[12] "Genealogy of Francisco Salbag [sic] petitioner for a post as Familiar of the Inquisition in New Spain," Mexican Inquisition, BANC MSS M-M 147:4.

The total cost of the purchase was 161 pesos 5 *tomines*, to be paid at a rate of 8 pesos a week, perhaps an indication that Salbago had little liquid capital to invest at the time. A weekly payment schedule is also somewhat uncommon in documents of this type, which typically state simply a final due date for the total, either months or years ahead. Perhaps he was new in business, or not trusted by López Tocina. He did, however, succeed in paying off the debt five weeks ahead of schedule.[13]

It is not clear where Salbago learned the art of printing, or if he was simply the owner of a press operated by his employees, but it is clear that he acquired Juan Blanco de Alcázar's materials in late 1628 or early 1629.[14] The most telling evidence for his acquisition of Blanco's press rather than Garrido's is the fact that the latter continued in operation through late 1629 to mid-1630, judging by the last publication to appear with a Garrido imprint, while Salbago issued his first three works in 1629.[15]

Francisco Salbago's acquisition of Juan Blanco's materials following the latter's arrest by the Inquisition would not be without precedent. In 1599, a press being built by Cornelio Adrián César was seized by the Inquisition during his trial and was deposited with Enrico Martínez. In addition, as part of his penance, César was ordered to work for Diego López Dávalos at that time located at the convent of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco.[16] It appears that Juan Blanco's materials were transferred to Francisco Salbago as part of the

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[13] AGNot, José de la Cruz, Esc. 106, vol. 720, fol. 231r-v. Andrés López Tocina Sarmentador was a resident of Jerez de la Frontera with various business interests in the New World, see AGI Contratación, 812, N.22. The Calle de Acequia ran east to west along the south edge of the central plaza.

[14] Medina raises the possibility that Salbago began printing in 1627, based on the licensure of fray Domingo de Jesús María's *Monte de piedad y concordia espiritual*, dated the 16th and 19th of April that year, arguing that it was unlikely that two years would pass without publication. Equally possible, however, is that the copies catalogued by Andrade and Medina are the second edition and that the first Mexican edition has not survived. It was not infrequent for printers to reproduce the initial licenses in later editions. See Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. I, p. CXXVII, and vol. II, p. 137.

[15] Alonso Bueno. *Copia de la carta en que el padre fray Alonso Bueno haz relación a su prelado del modo con que el señor Arzobispo de México mando que se hiciese en aquella ciudad la procesión del Corpus… de, 1630*. Impreso en México en la imprenta de la viuda de Diego Garrido: 1630.

[16] Medina *La imprenta en México,* vol. I, p. CXIX.

proceedings, and it is possible that Blanco was ordered to work for him as well. At the same time, Blanco may have been exiled from Mexico City at this point, which may account for his appearance in Puebla some years later.

From his imprints, we know that Salbago opened his office on the Calle de la Acequia, (today, Calles 16 de Septiembre and Corregidora) moving to the Calle de Santo Domingo (today, Calle de la República de Brasil) shortly thereafter. The absence of publications by Salbago in 1630 and his move to Calle Santo Domingo in 1631 was likely a direct result of the great flood that struck Mexico in September of 1629. Calle de la Acequia was named for the drainage canal that ran down the middle of the street, no doubt overflowing its banks into Salbago's shop in 1629. His move to Calle Santo Domingo in 1631 provides further evidence in support of the argument that he acquired Juan Blanco de Alcázar's materials, as the former was also located there, sharing a wall (*pared en medio*) with the Holy Office. Salbago moved to the Calle San Francisco (today, Calle Madero) in 1632 where he remained until his death in December of 1638.

BERNARDO CALDERÓN AND THE GARRIDO PRESS

José Toribio Medina asserts that the press operating under Diego Garrido's widow, Ana de Herrera, passed to Diego Gutiérrez. A minor printer with few imprints under his own name, it appears far more likely that it passed to Bernardo Calderón.[17] Aside from the bibliographical evidence, such as the same type ornaments and initial capitals appearing in texts coming from both Garrido and Calderón, compositors Gutiérrez and Cornelio

[17] José Toribio Medina. *La imprenta en México*, vol. 1, p. CXXVI. Diego Gutiérrez was likely the son of Pedro Gutiérrez, both of whom had worked for Diego Garrido between 1620 and 1628. A document in Mexico's National Archive identifies Gutiérrez as a printer in 1629, living in houses belonging to the Cathedral of Mexico, aged about 28. Gutiérrez produced two minor works in 1632, and a more substantial one in 1634 (González de Cossio *510* 155, Medina *México* 427 and 446). A forth appears bearing his imprint in Puebla de los Ángeles in 1643 (Medina, *Puebla* 6), and he shared in the license for Medina *México* 578 with Paula de Benavides in the same year, after which his name disappears from the bibliographical record.

Adrián César both appear as Garrido's employees and later associated with Bernardo Calderón and/or his widow, Paula de Benavides.[18] There were also pre-existing relationships between Ana de Herrera and Francisco Clarín, on the one hand, and Clarín and Bernardo Calderón on the other. Among the last books published by Ana de Herrera was Guillermo de los Ríos' *Triunfos, coronas, trofeos, de la perseguida iglesia de Japón*, printed in 1628, which carries the imprint "In Mexico, at the press of the widow of Diego Garrido. By Diego Gutiérrez, Sold in the bookstore of Francisco Clarín on Calle San Francisco, 1628."[19]

A third argument supporting the claim that Calderón acquired the Garrido press is the issue of the monopoly (*asiento*) on printing *cartillas.* These short pamphlets contain a syllabary and the basics of the catechism, and were intended to aid in teaching the rudiments of reading and Catholic doctrine.[20] Diego Garrido was granted a ten-year monopoly (*asiento)* on printing and selling *cartillas* in 1621, and his widow sought to ensure that it would be sustained following his death in 1625.[21] In 1631, upon completion of the term accorded to Diego Garrido and Ana de Herrera, it was granted to Bernardo Calderón (and subsequently renewed by his descendants through the mid-eighteenth century).[22] Furthermore, the terms of the *asiento* included the obligation to print the *relaciones de sucessos,* news sheets that were the precursors of the *gazetas.* Calderón's first imprint, unrecorded by bibliographers and one that marks his establishment as a

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[18] See Medina *México* numbers 437and 578.

[19] Medina, *México*, 400.

[20] Though produced in the tens of thousands, very few survive today. For an analysis of one of the earliest surviving Mexican *cartillas*, with facsimile reprint, see Emilio Valton. *Cartilla para enseñar a leer. México. Pedro Ocharte. 1569*. México: Manuel Porrúa S. A. 1977.

[21] José Toribio Medina. *Historia de la imprenta*. p. 146; AGI Seville, México, 1095, L.22, fol. 200v-201r; AGN, Reales Cedulas Duplicadas, Vol. 8, fol. 454.

[22] AGNot, Esc. 684, Francisco Valdivieso, vol. 4589, not foliated. AGN, General de Parte, Vol. 21, Exp. 86, dated 5 October 1736, extends the privilege to María de Rivera, great-granddaughter of Bernardo Calderón and Paula de Benavides, to the end of December 1746.

printer in 1630 rather than 1631, was the *Relación enviada por el padre fray Estevan de Perea, custodio de las provincias del Nuevo México.*[23] Had the Garrido press gone to Diego Gutiérrez, it seems likely that the monopoly on *cartillas* would have gone to him as well, rather than to Bernardo Calderón.

In any event, the transfer of Garrido's materials to Calderón, and Blanco's to Salbago, were exceptional not typical. Virtually all previous transfers had been by inheritance, marriage, or both. The first printing office in Mexico, that of Juan Pablos, passed to his son-in-law, Pedro Ocharte, first via rental then by inheritance through his marriage to Pablos's daughter, María Figueroa. From there, it passed to Ocharte's descendants, then to Pedro Balli, followed by Juan Blanco de Alcázar and Francisco Salbago. The second, that of Antonio Espinosa, passed to Diego López Dávalos via his marriage to Espinosa's daughter, María de Espinosa. For a quarter of a century, between 1574 and 1601, those materials had been rented to Pedro Balli, who for many years was the only printer active in New Spain. After its return, it passed from López Dávalos, apparently via inheritance, to Diego Garrido and then, it appears, by sale to Bernardo Calderón. The third, constructed by, but never operated by, Cornelio Adrián César, was seized by the Inquisition and given on deposit to Enrico Martínez, from whom it passed to Juan Ruiz. Thus, Salbago's acquisition of Juan Blanco's press via the Inquisition is similar to Martínez's acquisition of Cornelio Adrián César's, and Juan Blanco's possible

[23] The *Relación* is held by the Universidad de Barcelona. The same year saw the publication of a bibliographical oddity, another *relación* issued by a "Pedro de Charte," of whom little is known and who issued nothing more. Medina assumes that he was in some way related to Pedro Ocharte, Mexico's third printer, active from 1563-1592. Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. I p. CXXVII. This imprint may signal some detour or difficulty in the transfer of the Garrido materials to Calderón.

purchase of the remnants of the Ocharte and Balli materials in 1617 is the only transfer that is roughly similar to Calderón's likely purchase from the Garridos.[24]

It is not clear why this would be the case. Juan Pablos, Pedro Ocharte, Antonio Espinosa, and Pedro Balli all had strong commercial connections, and occasionally familial connections, to Spain. Pablos arrived as a factor for the Cromberger firm of Seville and his son-in-law, Pedro Ocharte, took as his second wife María Sansorel, daughter of Seville bookseller Pedro de Sansorel.[25] Pedro Balli, prior to his arrival in Mexico, was affiliated with the Portonariis family, with offices in a number of European cities. According to Medina, Antonio Espinosa successfully broke Juan Pablos' monopoly owing to his high connections at court, perhaps even with Cortés.[26] It is possible, however, that by the early seventeenth century these connections between New Spain's printers and continental family and business partners had attenuated, on the one hand, and their descendants had moved on to other activities in Mexico on the other.

In any event, by 1631, the three active presses, those of Juan Ruiz, Francisco Salbago, and Bernardo Calderón, had very little connection, beyond the occasional employee, to the generations that had come before and they were operated by three very different men. Juan Ruiz was the son—possibly the illegitimate or adoptive son—of Enrico Martínez. Moreover, he may have been of mixed ancestry, a *mestizo.* Ruiz's son, also named Juan, was described as a *castizo* when he appeared as a witness to a wedding

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[24] Antonio Ricardo, a printer from Turin, also opened a printing office in Mexico in 1577, but moved to Lima in 1580 to open the first press there in 1584. Antonio Rodríguez-Buckingham. "Colonial Peru and the Printing Press of Antonio Ricardo." Ph.D. Thesis (Library Science), University of Michigan, 1977.

[25] María Sansorel and her relations are referred to in Fernández del Castillo in *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* by the name "Sansoric." Natàlia Maillard Álvarez has proposed "Sansorel" based on the frequency of that spelling in Seville's Notarial archive, see Maillard Álvarez, "Circulación y difusión de la cultura escrita en Sevilla. 1550-1600," Ph.D. dissertation (History), Universidad de Sevilla, 2007, pp. 824-828. She cautions, however, that the name may derive from the *villa* of Sanzoles in Zamora, Spain and this appears to me to be the most likely spelling. In the trials of Pedro Ocharte and Juan Ruiz, Diego Sansorel signs his name "Sançoles," for example. AGN Inquisición, vol. 51, exp. 2, fols. 72 and 74.

[26] Medina. *La imprenta en México*, vol. 1, pp. LXXIX-LXXX.

in 1628, suggesting that one of his parents—printer Juan Ruiz or his first wife Felipa García—may have been the child of a Spaniard and an Indian, or perhaps a free black or mulatto.[27] Francisco Salbago, although born in Spain, had come to Mexico at a young age and apparently did not have substantial commercial ties to Seville, only once deploying the title of *Mercader de Libros*.[28] He did not benefit from, nor develop, a large family network in New Spain, as attested to by the fact that his estate went to the Convent of Discalced Carmelites upon his death.[29]

In contrast, Bernardo Calderón counted upon strong commercial and familial ties that stretched from Mexico City, to Seville, and from there to Madrid and Barcelona, Spain; Lyon and Paris, France; and Antwerp in the Low Countries.[30] Virtually all of his imprints bore the statement *Impresor y mercader de libros* (printer and book-merchant), a position of much greater status than a mere bookseller and indicating a much greater volume of trade. Owing to the commercial relations in New Spain between Ana de Herrera and the son and son-in-law of Seville book exporter Antonio de Toro, the latter could not have been ignorant of Diego Garrido's death in 1625, and it is possible that Bernardo Calderón left for—or was sent to—New Spain the following year with the intention of working at or taking over the Garrido press.[31] His apparent departure in haste, as the servant of Francisco Michél, makes the latter appear likely. Thus, following the transitions of 1628-1631, the three printing offices were operated by a creole and

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[27] AGN Matrimonios, vol. 48, exp. 76, fol. 215-216v. As transcribed by Pérez Salazar, Juan Ruiz's *acta de matrimonio* records both his parent's names, but for Felipa García, only her father's name, Francisco García. *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial,* p. 177.

[28] Bernabé Ruiz Venegas. *De institutione sacramentorum*. México: Francisco Salbago, 1631. Medina *México* 423. See also, González de Cossio *510* 154.

[29] AGNot, Esc 556, Gaspar Rueda, vol. 3840, fol. 16r-19r.

[30] The testament of Juan López Ramón, son-in-law of Antonio de Toro, dated 26 June 1649, lists debts to printers and booksellers in each of these cities. AHPS, vol. 12914, fol. 565r-569r.

[31] See also Michael Mathes, "La imprenta en Tlatelolco," *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficos*, vol. 7, (1995), pp. 121-142.

possibly *mestizo* (Juan Ruiz), a peninsular of long residence in New Spain, without substantial family or commercial relationships (Francisco Salbago) and a recently-arrived peninsular, Bernardo Calderón, with deep social and economic ties on both sides of the Atlantic. Over the following decade, they would compete with each other, particularly over the *cartilla* monopoly, occasionally quite fiercely.

CARTILLAS AND CONFLICTS, ACT I

Ephemeral "job" printing was always the life-blood of a printer's income during the hand press period.[32] The *cartillas* for which Calderón secured the monopoly very early in his career in Mexico fall into this category. As the most fundamental educational texts in New Spain, *cartillas* were in high demand and the monopoly was hotly contested. Conflicts over control of the *asiento* arose at various points during the careers of Calderón and his descendants.[33]

Issued in monolingual, bilingual and even trilingual editions, *cartillas* were used not only to instruct the secular population, but also to provide clerics, particularly those not born in New Spain, with their first introduction to indigenous languages. As a result, the monopoly that entailed control over the production and distribution of *cartillas* also entailed control over access to the fundamental tools clerics required for learning the languages of the indigenous population and ministering to their flocks. It should come as no surprise then, that conflicts over the *cartilla* monopoly became central to those between the diocesan clergy and members of the religious orders. There are strong

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[32] Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, pp. 242-244, and Whittaker, "Jesuit printing in Bourbon Mexico City." p. 100. See also Wroth, *The Colonial Printer*, pp. 217-226.

[33] Antonio Ricardo, the first printer in Peru, enjoyed a monopoly on all printing, but as other printers appeared following his death, they too sought the monopoly on *cartillas*. In Guatemala, José Piñeda Ibarra, the first printer to arrive, also obtained such a monopoly, as did Mariano Valdés, the first printer in Guadalajara, Mexico. See: Medina, *Historia de la imprenta en los antiguos dominios españoles de América y Oceanía*. vol. I, p. 455, and vol. II, pp. 138, 449.

CARTILLA MAYOR,
en Lengua Castellana, Latina, y
Mexicana.

Nuevamente Corregida, y Enmendada, y Reformada en
esta vltima Impression.

SI HABES BRACHIVM SICVT DEVS
CIRCVNDAT TIBI DECOREM
INSVPER LIMES ERIC ERE ET TESTOC
LORIOSVS IOB. 40.

Aabcdefghijklmno
pqrstuvxyz.

Aabcdefghijklmnopqrstuvxyz.
xyz.

✠ Aabcdefghijklmnopqrstuvxyz.

Las Letras Vocales, son cinco.

a c i o u.

Ba be bi bo bu. ça ce ci ço çu. Cha che chi cho chu. Da de di do du. Fa fe fi fo fu. Gua gue gui guo guu. Ha he hi ho hu. ja je ji jo ju. La le li lo lu. Ma me mi mo mu. Na ne ni no nu. Pape pi po pu. Qua que qui quo quu. Ra re ri ro ru. Sa se si so su. Ta te ti to tu. Va ve vi vo vu. Xa xe xi xo xu. Ya ye yi yo yu Za ze zi zo zu.

Ban ben bin bon bun. çan cen cin çon çun. Dan den din don dun. Fan fen fin fon fun. Guan guen guin guon guun. Han hen hin hon hun. jan jen jin jon jun. Lan len lin lon lun. Man men min mon mum. Nan nen nin non nun. Pan pen pin pon pun Quan quen quin quon quun. Ran ren rin ron run. San sen sin son sun. Tan ten tin ton tun. Van ven vin von vun. Xan xen xin xon xun. Yan yen yin yon yun. Zan zen zin zon zun.

Bã bẽ bĩ bõ bũ. çã çẽ çĩ çõ çũ. Dã dẽ dĩ dõ dũ. Fã fẽ fĩ fõ fũ. Guã guẽ guĩ guõ guũ. Hã hẽ hĩ hõ hũ. jã jẽ jĩ jõ jũ Lã lẽ lĩ lõ lũ. Mã mẽ mĩ mõ mũ. Nã nẽ nĩ nõ nũ. Pã pẽ pĩ põ pũ. Quã quẽ quĩ quõ quũ. Rã rẽ rĩ rõ rũ Sã sẽ sĩ sõ sũ. Tã tẽ tĩ tõ tũ. Vã vẽ vĩ võ vũ. Xã xẽ xĩ xõ xũ. Yã yẽ yĩ yõ yũ. Zã zẽ zĩ zõ zũ.

Illustration 3: *Cartilla mayor, en lengua castellana, latina, y mexicana*. México: viuda de Bernardo Calderón [sic], 1691, Title page and verso.

indications that Diego Fernández de Córdoba granted the first monopoly on *cartillas* in 1621 as a result his conflicts with archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna over the administration of indigenous parishes.

Cartillas were, from the earliest days of contact, integral to the evangelizing mission of the mendicants. The monopoly for the establishment of the first printing office in Mexico, granted to Juan Cromberger in 1539, made specific mention of control over the shipment of *cartillas*. Though the data are fragmentary, between 1512 and 1600 no fewer than 28,000 *cartillas* were shipped from Seville to the New World (see table 4). Pedro Rueda calculates that between 1627 and 1660 the Cathedral of Valladolid, Spain, sent an average of 80,712 *cartillas* per year to Seville for distribution in Andalucía and

America.[34] While *cartillas* could be sold in bulk at a discount, individual copies carried a legally fixed price of half a *real* each; thus the maximum average income from the sale of 80,712 *cartillas* annually was almost 5,045 pesos.

Year	Quantity	Destination
1512	2,000	"America"
1530	300	
1533	12,000	New Spain
1557	1,308	
1557	5,216	Honduras
1565	444	
1576	240	New Spain
1585	2,500	Ciudad de los Reyes
1586	500	New Spain
1600	3,500	New Spain
Total	28,008	

Table 4: *Cartillas* shipped to the Indies

In 1553, the crown granted Mexico's Royal Hospital of the Indians the privilege on *cartillas.* At that time the Franciscan order administered the hospital. The privilege was reiterated in 1556 when the hospital became a crown dependency under the *Real Patronato*.[35] By 1591, the hospital was brought wholly under viceregal administration, with the archbishop prohibited even from visiting except in the company of the viceroy or his delegate.[36] In 1583, however, the crown had granted the privilege on *cartillas* to the cathedral of Valladolid, Spain, and the language of the concession was quite broad, embracing all territories including the Indies. The crown limited the privilege to Castile when it was renewed at a later date, but there have been suggestions that during this

[34] Pedro Rueda Ramírez, "Las cartillas para aprender a leer: la circulación de un texto escolar en Latinoamérica," *Cultura escrita & sociedad*, numero 11 (2010), pp. 15-42. See especially page 32.
[35] José Torre Revello, "Las *cartillas* para enseñar a leer a los niños en América Española," in *Thesaurus*, Bogotá, Instituto Caro y Cuervo, vol. XV (1960), no. 1-3, p. 225.
[36] Josefina Muriel, *Hospitales de la Nueva España. Tomo I: Fundaciones del siglo XVI*, México; Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Cruz Roja Mexicana, 1990; p. 131.

interval the cathedral of Valladolid granted a *poder* to Mexico's archbishop allowing him to manage the printing of *cartillas* on behalf of the hospital.[37] If such were the case, it had the potential to generate significant conflict. As the patron of the hospital under the *Real Patronato*, the viceroy should have managed the privilege, not the archbishop, but this authority was not formally exercised until 1621.

Viceroy Diego Fernández de Córdoba's assertion of this authority came as a result of his long-running conflicts with archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna. In 1619, the two clashed over episcopal prerogatives over indigenous parishes controlled by the mendicants. The diocesan clergy and members of the religious orders had a long established division of labor with its origins in the sixteenth century. Members of the religious orders, particularly the Franciscans, saw the evangelization of the indigenous population as their special commission and while the regular clergy ministered to the *república de indios*, the diocesan clergy ministered to the *república de españoles*. By the seventeenth century, however, with the growth of the diocesan clergy—many of whom had been born in New Spain (creoles) by this time —the original division of labor had begun to take on overtones of a rivalry between creole seculars and peninsular regulars. Archbishop Pérez de la Serna had received a royal *cédula* that gave him the authority to examine curates on their skills in indigenous languages. Despite the royal order, the viceroy, allied with the religious orders, successfully blocked the implementation of the *cédula's* mandate, but the conflict between the archbishop and the viceroy continued to simmer.[38]

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[37] Mariano Alcocer y Martínez. *Catálogo razonado de obras impresas en Valladolid,* Valladolid: Imprenta de la Casa Social Católica, 1926, p. 882-884 and Carmen Castañeda García "Libros para la enseñanza de la lectura en la Nueva España, siglos XVII y XIX: cartillas, silabarios, catones y catecismos," In: Carmen Castañeda García et. al. (coord.), *Lecturas y lectores en la historia de México*. México: CIESAS p. 54

[38] Israel, *Race, Class and Politics*, p. 141.

On 17 February 1621, viceroy Guadalcázar awarded the first monopoly on the printing and sale of *cartillas* to printer and bookseller Diego Garrido in return for 50 pesos in alms for the Hospital and his move reflects his long-standing conflict with Pérez de la Serna. Guadalcázar's initial grant covered printing "large and small *cartillas* in Castilian and Mexican." Guadalcázar's successor, the marquis of Gelves, confirmed the grant to Garrido, despite the objection of printer Juan Ruiz who may have had a personal stake in the conflict. As either a *mestizo* himself, or married to a *mestiza*, it is possible that he had direct ties to the indigenous community and thus an interest in the larger conflicts between the diocesan clergy and the religious orders over the administration of indigenous parishes.[39] As a result of Ruiz's challenge, Garrido sought confirmation of the monopoly from the Council of the Indies and in return, in addition to the 50 pesos in alms for the hospital, he offered to supply paper to, and provide printing services for, the offices of the viceroy and the *Audiencia* at no cost. The Council granted his petition in Madrid on 18 November 1624 and viceroy Cerralvo confirmed it in New Spain.[40]

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[39] "para imprimir cartillas grandes y pequeñas así en lengua castellana como en Mexicana." AGN, Matrimonios, tomo 27, exp. 56, fol. 178-179. Francisco Pérez Salazar. *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial,* p. 174-176.

[40] AGI, México, 1095, L.22, fol. 200v-201r. Along with helping to clarify the origins of the *cartilla* monopoly, these conflicts may help account for some odd gaps—and at least one entry—in the bibliographical record also related to long-standing conflicts between viceroys and archbishops: the text of the Third Mexican Council, printed by Juan Ruiz in 1622. This was the first printed edition of the Third Mexican Council that took place in Mexico in 1585 under archbishop and viceroy Pedro Moya de Contreras. As an index of the exceptional nature of this text coming from Ruiz's press, he was breaking a five-year silence and only three other works bearing his imprint appeared over the following nine years, after which his name begins to appear more consistently in the bibliographical record. A number of authors have asked why the final text of the Council was not issued at its conclusion in 1585, arguing that the delay was due to later local conflicts between the viceroys and the archbishops who succeeded Moya de Contreras, and more broadly between the Vatican and the Spanish Crown over the *Real Patronato*. It is not my intention here to explore that particular question, but instead to argue that its final appearance in 1622, by Juan Ruiz, appears to be an artifact of the dispute between the viceroys Guadalcázar and Gelves and archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna.

While the Vatican indeed brought the Mexican Council text more in line with the Council of Trent, diminishing somewhat Moya de Contreras' ample vision of episcopal authority, the publication of the final text in 1622 nevertheless represented a clear statement of episcopal prerogatives vis a vis the civil authorities, and thus Pérez de la Serna's funding of its publication served both practical and symbolic ends

With Ruiz's challenge to the *cartilla* monopoly rejected, and Garrido's grant from the viceroy confirmed by the crown, Garrido maintained it until his death in 1625. As we have seen, it was subsequently reaffirmed with his widow, Ana de Herrera, on 10 September 1626, and then awarded to Bernardo Calderón in 1631.[41] The monopoly continued with Bernardo Calderón until 1635 when tensions between the diocesan clergy and the religious orders again came to a head. According to Jonathan Israel, creoles directed appeals to Madrid requesting, among other things, restrictions on the religious orders owning property, a reduction of the number of mendicants sent from Spain, an increase in the number of creole clerics accepted into the orders, and an increase in the number of Inquisition Familiars.[42] Perhaps in some way responding to these appeals, it was precisely at this point that the Inquisition appointed Francisco Salbago *Impresor del Secreto del Santo Oficio*, official printer to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, the first Mexican printer to deploy that title in his imprint. In addition, on 17 August 1635, Francisco Salbago presented his petition to become a Familiar and Minister to the Inquisition.[43]

Perhaps viceroy Cadereyta also responded. Contemporary documents state that there was strong competition between Salbago and Calderón, but it appears more than coincidental that it was also at this point, in 1635, that Cadereyta split the *cartilla*

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in his conflict with the viceroys. Diego Garrido likely refused the job, to avoid alienating his patrons—the viceroy among them—and the only other printer active at the time, Juan Blanco de Alcázar, had ties to the Inquisition, which perhaps made him an unlikely ally of the archbishop. Stafford Ernest J. Poole, "Opposition to the Third Mexican Council" *The Americas* 25, no. 2 (October 1, 1968): 111-159 and Burrus "The Third Mexican Council (1585) in the Light of the Vatican Archives." *The Americas* 23, no. 4 (April 1, 1967): 390-407.

[41] AGNot, Esc. 684, Francisco Valdivieso, fol. SF, 16 November 1631. AGI, México, 1095, L.22, fol. 200v-201r.

[42] Israel, *Race, Class and Politics,* p. 195.

[43] "Genealogy of Francisco Salbag [sic] petitioner for a post as Familiar of the Inquisition in New Spain," BANC MSS M-M 147:4. Juan Blanco de Alcazar, from whom Salbago had acquired his press, had done some printing for the Inquisition, though his imprint never indicated a formal relationship with the Holy Office.

monopoly between the two.[44] Although Salbago was also born in Spain, he had arrived in New Spain in 1614 aged 18 or 19.[45] In addition, he was tied to the Carmelite order that would side with Palafox and the diocesan clergy years later. When he died in 1638, for example, he left his estate to the Convent of San Sebastián of the Discalced Carmelites.[46] Calderón, on the other hand, was still a somewhat recent arrival in New Spain and he was still strongly tied to the peninsula.[47] He was also tied to the religious orders, particularly the Franciscans and the Jesuits. In the context of the larger controversies between creoles versus peninsulars and diocesan versus regular clergy, it appears that Salbago aligned himself with the creoles and seculars, while Calderón aligned himself with the peninsulars and the religious orders.[48] More importantly, however, Calderón's recent arrival, rapid ascent, and extensive network provide a personified example of the advantages, perceived or actual, that peninsulars enjoyed and against which creoles continuously complained. Salbago, on the other hand, appears to have successfully leveraged the climate of discontent that had prompted creole appeals to Madrid to his own economic benefit. He succeeded in breaking Calderón's *asiento* on *cartillas* and, through his appointment as printer to the Inquisition, obtained a monopoly of his own on edicts and other publications of the Holy Office.

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[44] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 468, fol. 29v-34r include bills presented by Juan Blanco de Alcázar for Inquisition edicts produced at his press in 1619 and 1620. NB: Folio numbers in this volume run through fol. 217, then begin again with fol. 27. The above reference is for the second sequence.

[45] "Genealogy of Francisco Salbag [sic] petitioner for a post as Familiar of the Inquisition in New Spain," BANC MS M-M 147:4. Bartolomé de Alva, *Confesionario mayor y menor en lengua Mexicana*, México: Francisco Salbago, 1734 (Medina 444).

[46] AGNot, Gaspar Rueda, esc. 556, vol. 3840, fol. 17v-19r. I am indebted to Tatiana Seijas for directing me to these documents.

[47] Calderón's license to travel to the Indies was granted on 15 June 1626. AGI, Contratación, 5395, N.72. The first documentary evidence for his being in New Spain comes from March 1628, AGN Mexico, Inquisición, Vol. 367, Exp. 8.

[48] AGN México, General de Parte, vol. 8, exp. 74, fol. 51r-52r. BANC MS M-M 147:1, "Genealogy of Francisco Salbag [sic] petitioner for a post as Familiar of the Inquisition in New Spain,"

CALDERÓN'S OUTPUT

Considering Bernardo Calderón's editorial output over the course of a nine-year career alongside that of the other printers active during the period between 1628 and 1640 raises some interesting questions. While job printing was an important part of Calderón's business, he also produced more substantive titles for the secular authorities, the Jesuit, Dominican and Franciscan orders, and the diocesan clergy. His competitors, Francisco Salbago and Juan Ruiz did likewise. It appears, however, that following Salbago's appointment as *Impresor del Secreto del Santo Oficio* in 1634, members of the Dominican order took their works to him, rather than Calderón. For example, between 1631 and 1634, four of Calderón's eight imprints were authored by a Dominican, but between 1635 and 1638, only one of the eight surviving Calderón imprints. The next item Calderón printed for a member of that order appeared in 1639, following Francisco Salbago's death. During the same period, five out of seventeen of Francisco Salbago's surviving publications were by Dominicans.

Conversely, despite his uncle Francisco Calderón's influential position within the Jesuit order, it does not appear that Bernardo was their first or only choice. All three printers active at the time produced texts for the Society of Jesus or the *Congregación de la Anunciada*, a Jesuit sodality, in 1631 and 1632.[49] However, since all were used as

[49] *Solutae orationis fragmenta ad usum scholarum Latinitatis & Rhetoricae*, Mexico: Francisco Salbago, 1632 (González de Cossio *510* 157), *Advertencias, para mayor noticia de la Gramática, y reducir al uso, y ejercicio los Preceptos de ella*, México: Bernardo Calderón, 1631 (Medina *Mexico* 415, previously printed by Juan Ruiz in 1615), and *Primeros rudimentos de la gramática,* México: Juan Ruiz, 1632. Since bibliographers have not previously noted it, I here provide a quasi-facsimile transcription of the title page. PRIMEROS / RVDIMENTOS / DE LA GRAMMATICA. /Iunto cõ algunas breues, y faciles Episto- / las de Ciceron, Fabulas, y Dialogos. / PA*RA USO* DE LAS PRIMERAS / *Classes de Estudios de Latinidad de la* / *Compañía de* IESVS. / [circular woodblock of the Annunciata with motto DOMINVS TECVM / AVE GRATIA PLENA] / En Mexico : y Emprenta de Iuan Ruyz. 1632. 8vo: 1 bl., [1-2], 3-136 leaves, 1 bl. $[A]^8$-R^8 ([A]1 verso blank). NB: the "st" in Epistolas and Estudios is the long-st ligature.
As the latter is also a compilation of fragments of five books (two primers on Latin, *Epístolas de Cicerón*, *Fabulas de Esopo*, and *Diálogos del Padre Jacobo Pontanto*), I am also inclined to believe that it is the never-seen *Quinqui Libri Rhetoricae* by Baltasar López, supposedly printed by the otherwise undocumented "P. Robles," first catalogued by Juan Eguiara y Eguren in 1755 and copied by

textbooks for the Jesuit *colegios*, it is equally possible that the Jesuit's spread the jobs among three printers in order to have them finished quickly, rather than overloading one printer with all three titles.

	Spanish	Latin	Native Language
Francisco Salbago	22	9	1
Bernardo Calderón	18	4	
Juan Ruiz	15	4	4
Diego Gutiérrez		2	1
Pedro Quiñones	2		
Francisco Robledo	5		
V. de Diego Garrido	3	2	
Juan Blanco de Alcázar	2		
Total	67	21	6

Table 5: Language distribution by printer

Notably, Juan Ruiz produced four of the six indigenous language texts during the period, including some of his most substantial, such as Nájera Yanguas's *Doctrina y enseñanza en la Lengua Mazahua* requiring 23 sheets per copy. This may be additional evidence to suggest that he might have had direct ties to, or at least frequent contact with, the indigenous population.[50] Calderón, on the other hand, produced none (see Table 5). The other two were Bartolomé de Alva's *Confesionario mayor y menor en lengua Mexicana*, issued by Francisco Salbago, and Francisco de Lorra Baquio's *Manual Mexicano*, printed by Diego Gutiérrez. Both appeared in 1634 at a time when conflicts raged between the secular clergy and the religious orders and over the control of the *cartilla* monopoly.[51] Notably, Alva and Lorra Baquio were both diocesan clerics.[52]

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bibliographers ever since (Medina 432). Juan Eguiara y Eguren. *Biblioteca mexicana*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México Coordinación de Humanidades, 1986, p. XX. It is also likely the *Epithome grammaticae* attributed to Juan Ruiz, González de Cossío *510* 156.

[50] Medina *México* 491.

[51] Medina *México* 444 and 446, respectively.

None of the books produced by any of the printers during the period approached the extent of those done on the Continent in terms of investment in paper. Far from the 208 sheets required for each copy of the *Obras* of Louis de Blois, printed in Madrid and funded by Calderón's father, most of the books produced in Mexico during the period required fewer than 10 sheets. Even the most substantial consisted of no more than 65 sheets, that being Fernando de Cepeda's *Relación universal legitima y verdadera del sitio en que esta fundada la muy noble, insigne, y muy leal Ciudad de México* issued by Francisco Salbago in 1637.[53]

Of the approximately 170 titles cataloged between 1628 and 1640, the dates that span Bernardo Calderón's known activity in Mexico, only 100 editions can be fully described, by printer and by year. It is difficult to know what to make of what appear to be some odd gaps in Calderón's editorial activity in 1632, 1637, and likely much of 1634 as well, which roughly correspond to the appearance of publications by the minor printers Diego Gutiérrez, Juan Blanco de Alcázar, and Pedro Quiñones. As mentioned above, the 1637 title printed by Juan Blanco de Alcázar is more than likely a fictitious imprint produced in 1641 or 1642, a topic discussed more fully in the next chapter.

Diego Gutiérrez's publication of Lorra Baquio's *Manual Mexicano* occurred amidst the conflicts between seculars and regulars and over the *cartilla* monopoly in 1634. The *Manual Mexicano* required 18 sheets to produce a single copy, and the linguistic skill necessary to set the Náhuatl text. It is uncertain if the it was produced at a press owned by Gutiérrez or at one owned by some printer owing to the phrasing of the statement of responsibility in the imprint line.

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[52] Lorra Baquio entered the Dominican order late in his life, shortly before his death. Beristaín y Sousa, *Biblioteca hispano americana setentrional*, vol. II, p. 191.
[53] Medina *México* 484.

Statements of responsibility typically included the owner of the press, and occasionally include the name of the compositor, as in Juan Coronel's *Doctrina Cristiana*, "*En la imprenta de Diego Garrido, por Cornelio [Adrián] César*."[54] Lorra Baquio's *Manual Mexicano* bears the simple imprint, "*por Diego Gutiérrez*," that elides the owner of the press. Lorra Baquio was a diocesan cleric, and the text appeared at another moment when conflicts flared between the relative jurisdictions of the secular and religious arms so it is possible that the other printers at work at the time were hesitant to take on the project, or at least to take credit for it, but nevertheless allowed Diego Gutiérrez to print with their materials. In such a small market, with few active printing houses, contemporary readers may have been able to identify whose press was used through identifying type ornaments and the like, but the issue at hand is the imprint line, the statement of responsibility, that elides the owner of the press.

Gutiérrez's three works *ex officina Didacti Gutiérrez* in 1632 are, however, a bit more difficult to explain.[55] Keeping in mind the fact that no works from 1632 survive bearing Bernardo Calderón's imprint and the relationship Gutiérrez had with the Garrido press prior to Calderón's acquisition of it, and later with Paula de Benavides, one possibility may be that Calderón was absent from the city at that point—in Veracruz, receiving shipments from Spain?—and gave his permission for Gutiérrez to print with his materials. Calderón did return to Spain in 1629, according to contemporaries, and it is possible that he traveled there as well in 1632. It is also possible that these imprints

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[54] Medina *México* 321.

[55] Juan de Ayrolo, *P. Fr. Ioannes de Ayrolo, in Sacra Theologia Magister*, México: Diego Gutiérrez, 1632, Medina *México* 427, and *Acta capituli provincialis, celebrati in Convento nostro S. Dominici de México. Anno Dñi 1632,* México: Diego Gutiérrez, 1632, Gonzáles de Cossio *510* 155. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg. *De la afición, y amor de Jesús, que deben tener todos sus redimidos*. México: Diego Gutiérrez, 1632. Previously unregistered, Biblioteca Nacional de México, call number: RSM 1632 M4NIE.

represent "graduation pieces" signifying that Gutiérrez had completed his apprenticeship, similar to the two books by Manuel de Olivos discussed in the next chapter.

Pedro Quiñones (b. Seville, *circa* 1612) issued the other imprints that appeared during this decade. With the possible exception of Juan Ruiz, Quiñones was the most talented typographer at work in seventeenth-century Mexico. Quiñones arrived in New Spain circa 1630 and his name first appears on a University thesis from the press of Bernardo Calderón dated 1631.[56] Shortly thereafter he moved to Francisco Salbago's printing office, signing imprints in 1633, 1634, and 1636.[57] Quiñones' brief affiliation with Bernardo Calderón, followed by a longer tenure with Francisco Salbago, suggests that Calderón may have been acting as compositor and did not have a need for a skilled workman. Two imprints appeared in 1637-1638 "from the press of Pedro Quiñones, in front of the Casa Profesa" situating him, like Salbago, on the Calle San Francisco. If they were not graduation pieces similar to Gutiérrez's, they suggest that Quiñones may have attempted to strike out on his own.[58] However, by 1641, following Bernardo Calderón's death, he returned to work for Calderón's widow, Paula de Benavides.[59]

A subset of Calderón's productions comprises four texts that initially appeared in Spain, all reflecting popular reading tastes by sharing the common feature that they recount miracles. These may reflect a business model similar to that of his father.

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[56] AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 287 Exp. 5, SF. Cristóbal Sánchez de Guevara, *Christophorus Sanchez de Guevara…. pro licentiaturæ laurea in eadem Caesareo iure suscipienda*. México: Bernardo Calderón, 1631 (Medina *Mexico* 424).

[57] Sebastián de la Peña y Mendoza, *Sebastianus de la Peña, & Mendoza, in philosophia laureatus, ut poté licentiaturæ in eadem facultate candidatus*. México: Francisco Salbago, 1633; Bartolomé de Alva, *Confesionario mayor y menor en lengua Mexicana*, México: Francisco Salbago, 1634 and Francisco de Samaniego, *Oración fúnebre a la muerte del excelentísimo señor Don Francisco De Sandoval, Padilla, y Acuña*. México: Francisco Salbago, 1636; (Medina *México* 441, 444, 476, respectively).

[58] Francisco de Samaniego, *Panegírico al ilustrísimo señor don Francisco Manso y Zúñiga,* México: Pedro Quiñones, 1637 (Medina *México* 492). A single work by printer Martin de Pastrana appeared in 1623, and that too may have been a graduation piece.

[59] Matías de Hoyos Santillana, *B. Mathias de Hoyos Santillana insula philosophiae magistrali decorandus has de repetenda (ut mos est) prælectiuncula de coelo conclussiones* (Medina *México* 540).

Although it is impossible to know for sure if Calderón himself financed these publications, and three of them he may have been obligated to produce under the terms of the *asiento* on *cartillas,* the fourth was almost certainly funded by Calderón.

The three that were perhaps issued as a part of the *cartilla* monopoly were *relaciones,* and required only one or two sheets. They were thus inexpensive to produce and to sell. These are 1) the *Breve relación de la milagrosa, y celestial Imagen de Santo Domingo*, in 1633; 2) a letter by Francisco de Vallejo de la Cueva in 1635 that related the Inquisition's arrest of madre María Luisa de la Ascensión; and 3) a news sheet penned by Francisco de Tarazona recounting the end of the 1638 French siege of Fuenterrabía in northern Spain.[60]

The first of these had seen at least three editions in Spain, two in 1629 and another in 1632. The second, Vallejo de la Cueva's letter regarding María Luisa de la Ascensión, was indirectly critical of the Inquisition through its praise of the ecstatic María Luisa. Her departure from the Franciscan convent in Carrión, *en route* to an imposed seclusion in an Augustinian convent in Valladolid, was opposed by the entire village and accompanied by a celestial blaze of light in the shape of a pyramid, according to Vallejo de la Cueva. Appearing from Calderón's press only shortly after his competitor Francisco Salbago was appointed printer to the Inquisition, Calderón's reprint might also be considered a slightly veiled reproach of the Holy Office.[61]

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[60] Medina *México* 436, 449, and 514, respectively. Although no Spanish edition of Vallejo de la Cueva's newssheet can be traced in the standard bibliographies or library catalogs, the text of an unknown edition, either manuscript or printed, appears in *Memorial histórico español: Colección de documentos, opúsculos, y antigüedades, que publica la Real Academia de la Historia*. Tomo XIII, Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia Española, 1861, pp. 157-160. Spanish editions were no doubt produced, but an edict of 1745 banned all works depicting or mentioning Sor Luisa de la Ascensión. These ephemeral newssheets, had any survived until then, were likely destroyed at that point. Medina *México* 514 incorrectly spells the name "Tarazana."

[61] On María de la Ascensión, see Jane Tar. "Flying Through the Empire: the Visionary Journeys of Early Modern Nuns." In: Jennifer L. Eich, Jeanne Gillespie and Lucia G. Harrison (eds.). *Women's Voices and the Politics of the Spanish Empire*. New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2008, pp. 280 – 293. See

The third recounts Spanish forces breaking the siege of Fuenterrabía. This occurred on the eve of the Nativity of Mary and many saw the Spanish victory as a sign of divine intervention. In addition to Tarazona's relation, which saw at least six Spanish editions, there were innumerable additional publications devoted to this miraculous victory. The crown commissioned Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, member of the Council of the Indies and soon to be Bishop of Puebla, to write the official history.[62]

While these three newssheets may have been produced as a result of Calderón's obligations under the terms of the *cartilla* monopoly, his most substantial publication, *A la Serenísima Señora Infanta Sor Margarita de la Cruz, Religiosa Descalza…en razón del interrogatorio en la causa de … Ana María de S. Joseph,* was likely self-funded. Only one copy appears to have survived, and it is not registered in any of the standard bibliographies.[63] It was first published in 1632 in Salamanca, and Calderón printed a quarto edition, requiring 22 sheets, in Mexico in 1635. Her biography credits Ana María de San José, a Franciscan nun, with visions, the ability to intercede on behalf of souls in purgatory, bi-location, and other feats characteristic of Spanish mystics. She died in late 1632, and her biography appeared almost immediately.[64]

Calderón's choice of this last text is reminiscent of Diego Guillén's business strategy of reprinting market-tested titles. Its popularity and salability is confirmed by the fact that it was reprinted again, immediately following Calderón's death. Francisco

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also, Stephen Haliczer, *Between Exaltation and Infamy. Female Mystics in the Golden Age of Spain*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 131-132. I am grateful to James Boyden for alerting me to this reference.

[62] *Sitio y socorro de Fuenterrabía y sucesos del año de 1638, escritos de orden y en virtud de decreto, puesto todo de la real mano de la majestad del Señor Don Felipe IV*. Madrid: Imprenta de Catalina del Barrio, 1638.

[63] According to the *Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español* the only extant copy is at the Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha in Toledo.

[64] On Ana María de San José, see Jane Tar. "Spiritual Counsel and the Bonds of Affection: A Study and Translation of Four Letters by a Seventeenth Century Franciscan Woman Mystic." In: *Magistre, a Journal of Women's Spirituality in History*. Vol. 14, Num. 1 (Summer 2008); pp. 3-33.

Robledo issued it as *Vida de la Venerable Virgen Sor Ana María de S. Joseph* in 1641. In a similar fashion, Juan Ruiz reissued the *Breve relación de la milagrosa, y celestial Imagen de Santo Domingo* that Calderón first printed in 1633.[65]

The appearance of these two titles at this particular juncture provides an additional insight into the competition among printers of the period. While neither were subject to privilege, and could thus be reprinted with impunity, Robledo and Ruiz's appropriation of these works, that had first been issued in Mexico by Calderón, effectively prohibited his widow, Paula de Benavides, from publishing them as well. For all their popularity, the marketplace could only consume a limited number and editions by Benavides would have met with reduced demand.

Francisco Robledo's imprint to his edition of the biography of Ana María de San José may have been a punning jab to this effect, reading "*En México, por Francisco Robledo. A costa de Bernardo de Espoz*." While a literal reading of the imprint would indicate that one "Bernardo de Espoz" funded the publication, and there was indeed a Bernardo de Espoz in Mexico at the time, prior to 1700, only four of the twenty-one titles indicating a source of funding were financed by individuals other than a printer, author, viceroy, bishop or archbishop. This is the only text indicating a funding source that appeared between 1611 and 1645. Given that Robledo was someone who earned his living from words and language, it is difficult to miss the possible pun, "at the cost of the Wife of Bernardo," (*a costa de [la] Espoz[a] de Bernardo*).[66] Authors of the period frequently indulged in wordplay, such as anagrams, word labyrinths, and the like. The

[65] Medina *México* 551 and 517, respectively. Taking his citation from Andrade, Medina dates 517 as "[1640]", indicating that no date actually appears on the imprint, but 1640 is assumed. Following the above argument, it appears more likely that it appeared in 1641, or at the very earliest, in December 1640, shortly following the death of Bernardo Calderón.

[66] Bernardo de Espoz traveled to New Spain in 1618, AGI, Contratación, leg. 5396, n. 5 and he was a *vecino* of Mexico in 1637, María Elena Bribiesca Sumano, et. al. *Catálogo de protocolos de la notaria No. 1 de Toluca 1617-1675*. Vol. VI, Toluca: Univ. Autónoma del Estado de México, 1992, p. 121.

Solutae orationis fragmenta, first published by Enrico Martinez in 1604 contains many of these. It was reprinted on multiple occasions thorough the 1640s, including an edition by Francisco Robledo's predecessor, Francisco Salbago, in 1632. Though speculative, it would not be going too far to suggest that Robledo was also engaging in wordplay with his imprint for this work.

CONCLUSION

As these chapters have explored, Bernardo Calderón was born into a family that was economically and socially well-established in Alcalá de Henares, and in Seville. He benefited from training in the offices of printer and bookseller from the most prominent members of the trade. He traveled to the New World as a journeyman, likely first to Peru, before settling in Mexico City. His establishment there, as printer and book merchant, marked a profound break with previous generations. He faced intense competition from long-established residents, who harnessed to their own advantage creole discontent with the type of peninsular *gachupín* that Calderón personified.

Bernardo Calderón registered his *poder de testar* with his notary, José de Cuenca, on 16 October 1640; his executors entered his testament on 8 February 1641. The last book to emerge from his press appears to have been a *Carta pastoral* by the recently arrived Bishop of Puebla, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, dated 12 November 1640. According to his widow, pregnant with their seventh child at the time he recorded his *poder de testar*, Calderón died in December of 1640, still not yet thirty-eight years of age. In his *poder*, he requested to be interred in the chapel of the Third Order of the Convent of San Francisco, accompanied to his burial by the *cura* of the Cathedral and twenty-four *niños* of the Colegio de San Juan Letrán, where mass should be said over his body. Along with the accustomed alms, he ordered seventy-two masses for his soul.

In his *poder de testar*, Calderón acknowledged a debt to Seville booksellers Antonio de Toro and Juan López Ramón in the amount of 3,400 pesos, and another document mentions an additional debt of 640 pesos and 3 *tomines* owed to bookseller Francisco Bellero.[67] While such large debts indicate that Calderón, *Impresor y Mercader de Libros*, was credit-worthy and operating on a large scale, they were nonetheless a burden for his widow. The debt to Francisco Bellero had to be settled at a severe discount and even then, only after litigation. Of her six surviving children, Paula de Benavides' eldest, Antonio, was just ten years of age. In retrospect, it is remarkable that Paula de Benavides did not immediately re-marry, but instead, remained a widow, at the head of the enterprise, for forty-three years. Within a month of her husband's death, as the following chapter explores, Francisco Robledo would directly challenge her for the monopoly on *cartillas*. This would be the first of a series of events, unfolding over the course of the following decade, that profoundly altered the printing trade in New Spain.

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[67] AGNot. Esc. 336, Gabriel López Ahedo, vol. 2226, fol. 12v-16v.

Chapter 3: The Origins of Printing in Puebla and the Creation of a Monopoly

"If you are as good a book merchant as you were a horse trader, you'll do fine."[1]

Jonathan Israel has called the decade following Calderón's death the most politically turbulent in New Spain's seventeenth-century history.[2] It also witnessed profound transformations in the landscape of the book trade, with the appearance of a press in Puebla de los Ángeles in 1642, and the silencing of printing there a decade later. With the closure of Puebla's printing house, Paula de Benavides and her associate, Diego de Ribera's son, Hipólito, enjoyed a near-monopoly on the trade in Mexico City, one that lasted for nearly a decade. The origin of printing in Puebla—as only the third city in Spanish America with a press, following Mexico City in 1539 and Lima in 1584—was an anomalous event that historians have long credited to Juan de Palafox y Mendoza.[3] It would not be until 1660 that another city, Guatemala, would obtain a press, and then another forty years until they began slowly to appear in cities throughout Spanish America. Moreover, unlike the printing houses founded in Mexico City, Lima, Guatemala and elsewhere, which were installed by master printers and continued under their descendants, often for generations, Puebla saw no fewer than five printers at work

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[1] Lucas Nieto to Hernando Bañuelos, 13 March 1603, AHSS, Fondo Congregación de San Pedro, leg. 14, exp. 19, fol. 1r.

[2] Israel, *Race, Class and Politics*, pp. 204-205.

[3] A press was also operating in Manila from 1593 and for brief periods during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, one operated in the Franciscan convent of Tlatelolco, outside of Mexico City. There is some debate over whether a printing house briefly operated in the Jesuit province of Juli, Peru, or if the four books carrying this imprint were instead printed in Lima, though the best evidence suggests that there was. See Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Impresos peruanos (1584-1650)*, Lima: 1953, pp. XXVII-XXXII. But also see José Torre Revello, *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América durante la dominación Española*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1991, p. 148. Conjectures about Palafox's role in the establishment of printing in Puebla date to as early as 1890, see, Agustín de Rivera y San Román. *Fundación de la imprenta en Puebla*, Lagos: Tipografía de V. Velóz, 1890, pp. 1-2 and Francisco Pérez Salazar *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial*, p.4.

over the course of a decade. Three of these were relatively minor and only one of them produced more than one or two works. None of them established a long-lasting enterprise. It would not be until the later 1650s, with the appearance of the Borja family of printers, that Puebla would have an established printing office that followed the pattern of other cities.

Why was this the case? Why was there printing *at all* in Puebla de los Ángeles, and why did it appear when it did? What accounts for the unstable and intermittent printing there? The answers to these questions are by no means obvious, the documents are few, and almost none of them speak directly to the question.

There is an underlying Wiggish assumption in the literature that the establishment of printing in Puebla was part of a natural progression, yet another inevitable milestone along the path of New Spain's development, helped along by the hand of an unusually enlightened bishop. The licensing regimen for printing in the Americas, as outlined by the *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España*, mandated that final licensing authority lay with the viceroy.[4] Under such a regimen, it would make little economic or practical sense to print books in Puebla, or anywhere other than Mexico City for that matter, since obtaining the necessary approvals and licenses would have required multiple trips back and forth to the capital, with concomitant costs and delays.

This chapter argues that the appearance of a press in Puebla and the odd sequence of printers there occurred as a function of larger scale conflicts between the episcopal arm and a sequence of viceroys, with the various actors maneuvering within these conflicts seeking their own advantage. The main protagonist from the episcopal arm during the 1640s was Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Bishop of Puebla, visitor general, and, briefly,

[4] *Novísima recopilacion de las leyes de España*. Madrid: 1805. See also Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, *El libro en España y América. Legislación y Censura, (Siglos XV-XVIII)*. Madrid: Editorial Arco/Libros, 2000.

viceroy of New Spain. Palafox's mentor, the Count-Duke of Olivares, believed in a strongly centralized monarchy that would suppress the privileges and prerogatives of Spain's constituent kingdoms. In contrast, Palafox argued that local customs, prerogatives, and privileges should be respected and that New Spain be treated as an equal in Spain's composite monarchy, a position he outlined in his *Historia real sagrada*, discussed below.[5]

Palafox's political philosophy and reform agenda held implications for the printing trade as well. In Spain, depending on the region, various civil and ecclesiastical officials could grant the final license to print. In New Spain, pre-publication licensing fell under the secular authority of the viceroy, acting in his role as president of the *Audiencia*, as outlined in Libro VIII, Titulo XVI of the *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España* under the heading "*De los libros y sus impresiones, licencias y otros requisitos para su introducción y curso*." Texts authored by clerics also required the license of their Ordinary, and those dealing with matters of the faith typically required Inquisition review.[6] Like other reformers before him—Erasmus and Luther, for example—Palafox was well aware of the power of the press. A printing house in Puebla served not only instrumental and utilitarian functions in his pamphlet war with the Jesuits but also a

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[5] Cayetana Álvarez de Toledo, *Politics and reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico: The Life and Thought of Juan de Palafox, 1600-1659.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004, p. 147-156.

[6] A royal *pragmática* of 8 June 1502 established the requirement of royal licensing, while at the same time granting the *Audiencia de Chancillerías* presidents at Valladolid and Granada (and other *Audiencias*) that prerogative. The archbishops of Toledo, Seville, Granada, and the bishops of Burgos, Salamanca, and Zamora were also given that authority. The *pragmática* of 7 September 1558 centralized this power in the *Consejos* in Spain, but at the same time exempted from *Concejo* licensing reprints of numerous classes of texts: missals, breviaries, diurnals, *libros de canto*, books of hours in Latin or Castilian, *cartillas*, lives of the saints (*flos santorum*), constitutions of synods, grammars, vocabularies and other studies of Latin. These texts still required licensing by local prelates. The *pragmática* of 13 June 1627 reinstated licensing by presidents of *Audiencias* or regents of *Chancillerías*. See Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, *El libro en España y América*. vol. II, pp. 779-780, 802, and 847.

decentralized licensing scheme fit into his broader reform agenda and political philosophy.[7]

Historians have typically analyzed Palafox's challenge to the *status quo* in terms of his confrontations with the religious orders, particularly the Franciscans and the Jesuits. For printers, this disruption offered new opportunities. Paula de Benavides enjoyed the patronage of the viceroy through his concession of the *asiento* on *cartillas*, something she fiercely protected. For her competitors, principally Francisco de Robledo and Juan Blanco de Alcázar, breaking the monopoly along with a decentralized licensing regimen under which Palafox or others could grant the final civil license presented both tangible and symbolic rewards. For Robledo, it offered the potential to expand his enterprise under the protection of a new patron. For Blanco, it would allow him to return to the trade from which he had been excluded by the Inquisition in 1629.

The first section of this chapter analyzes Francisco Robledo's challenge to Paula de Benavides' monopoly on *cartillas*. Lasting over nine months, by its conclusion, Benavides managed not only to retain the *asiento* but also to extend it to include other doctrinal works such as the catechism, thus increasing her control over the printing trade in Mexico. The following sections focus on the first books published in Puebla and the question of at whose press they were printed. Given the brevity of the earliest of these imprints and the different printers who produced them it appears unlikely that they were done at a press that had been brought from Mexico City, but rather at one already established in Puebla.

The final sections focus on Francisco Robledo's edition of Palafox's *Historia real sagrada* in 1643 and the books that Juan Blanco de Alcázar issued in Puebla through

[7] Lisa Jardine. *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993; Mark U. Edwards. *Printing, Propaganda and Martin Luther*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

1653. The *Historia real sagrada* was the last book licensed under Palafox's authority as viceroy, and it appears to have been put to press in haste to ensure its conformity with the Laws of Spain. Books printed in Puebla after this point, most issued by Juan Blanco, were licensed in contravention of these laws. These constituted an affront to the authority of the viceroy and to the Inquisition that had silenced Blanco over a decade earlier. Following Palafox's return to Spain in 1649, Blanco's continued printing in Puebla prompted royal and viceregal orders that he be silenced. After decades of conflict and competition among printers—that came to a head under Palafox, resulted in the end of two printers' careers, and helped to bring about a near-monopoly for Paula de Benavides—the book trade in New Spain entered into a period of relative stability that would last for decades.

CARTILLAS AND CONFLICTS, ACT II

On 14 January 1641, no more than a month after Bernardo Calderón's death, Francisco Robledo approached viceroy Diego López Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, duke of Escalona, requesting that he be awarded the monopoly on *cartillas*. In his petition, Robledo claimed that the previous term had expired and it had remained vacant since October of 1639. In January of that year, he had purchased the press, paper, books and other related items from Francisco Salbago's estate from the Carmelite convent for 2,475 pesos, 4 *reales*, and in succeeding months he secured loans from the Carmelites to support his fledgling enterprise.[8] Representing himself as Francisco Salbago's successor, Robledo offered to increase the alms for the hospital from 50 to 100 pesos in return for the *asiento*. With *cartillas* sold at a fixed price of one half *real* each, this would have required the sale of at least an additional 800 *cartillas* to recover costs. Selling 1,600

[8] AGNot, Gaspar Rueda, esc. 556, vol. 3840, 62r-63v, 405v-406r and 421r-422r.

cartillas would have offset the alms due to the hospital, however, the costs of paper and printing for the *Audiencia* and the viceroy, an obligation that went along with the *asiento,* would have required the sale of even more.

Upon hearing of Robledo's appeal to the viceroy, Bernardo Calderón's widow, Paula de Benavides, appeared with a counter-offer. Noting her husband's death, she pled poverty and the necessity of caring for a large family of six children. She requested that the viceroy award her the *asiento* "for help in achieving some relief from the weight of so many obligations." Although she claimed that her husband had suffered many losses as a result of the monopoly, she nevertheless matched Robledo's offer, save for the alms to the hospital, which she increased only to 55 pesos per year. Her plea was successful, and on 24 January 1641 the viceroy granted the award for a six-year term.[9]

This encounter is well known to students of the history of printing in Mexico, but it has yet to be interpreted within its broader context.[10] Like the conflicts of 1621 and 1635, it erupted in the midst of another period of discord between the diocesan clergy and members of the religious orders over the administration of indigenous parishes. Just over two weeks before Robledo's appearance before the viceroy, the recently arrived bishop of Puebla de los Ángeles, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, had begun his sweeping attempts at reform that have become known as the "taking of Tlaxcala."[11]

In late December of 1640, Palafox demanded that the priests of thirty-seven native parishes, all being held by the religious orders, present themselves for examination in morals and languages. Setting a very short time frame for response, on 27 December Palafox began the taking of Tlaxcala. By its conclusion the following February, he had

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[9] AGN, General de Parte, vol. 8, exp. 74, fol. 51r-52r.
[10] Torre Revello, "Las *cartillas* para enseñar a leer a los niños en América Española,", pp. 223-224.
[11] Israel, *Race Class and Politics*, p. 207.

turned over thirty-six indigenous parishes to diocesan clergy. The importance of *cartillas* for the instruction of the Indians had prompted viceroy Diego Fernández de Córdoba's creation of the *cartilla* monopoly in 1621. Its subsequent division between Francisco Salbago and Bernardo Calderón occurred during similar conflicts in 1635. The clash between Robledo and Benavides likewise erupted in January 1641 in the midst of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's attempt to strip the mendicants of their indigenous parishes in Tlaxcala.

Robledo's relationship with the Carmelites, and subsequent events explored below, put him squarely in the Palafox camp. As the only major order without indigenous parishes, the Carmelites were also the only one to support Palafox's reforms.

It is far more difficult, however, to situate Paula de Benavides' position in the dispute. Although there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that Paula de Benavides would align directly with the religious orders against Palafox, other evidence suggests a more complicated picture.

On the one hand, the Franciscans suffered most from the taking of Tlaxcala, and Paula de Benavides was a Franciscan tertiary.[12] Moreover, her brother, Gabriel de Benavides, was a Franciscan friar. In January 1643 he was one among a great number of Franciscans certified as competent in Náhuatl, suggesting that he may have been directly affected by the taking of Tlaxcala.[13] In December of 1654 he stood for election as Provincial, and although the Franciscans instead elected fray Tomás Manso, he was nevertheless prominent in the order.[14]

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[12] AGN Bienes Nacionales, vol. 56 exp.102 and AGNot, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, esc. 116, vol. 762, fol. 231v. The Third Order of St. Francis began in the thirteenth century and was a lay confraternity observing many of the rules of the Franciscan order.

[13] Luis de la Palma y Freites, *Por las religiones de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, y San Agustín de las provincias de la Nueva-España*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1644, fol. 19v.

[14] INAH, Colección Antigua, T.2, numero actual 29, numero antiguo 383, fol. 258r.

Benavides' uncle (by marriage), Francisco Calderón, was a leading Jesuit who had been rector of the their college of San Ildefonso in Puebla from 1631-1634 and rector and master of novices at their college in Tepotzotlán in 1638. He had already opined on the respective rights of regular and diocesan clergy in late 1629 or early 1630 when he, together with Juan de Ledesma, signed a legal brief in support of the Dominican order.[15] In the years that followed, as Palafox's attention turned to the Jesuits, Francisco Calderón would pen a number of challenges and responses to his arguments in his capacity as Provincial of the order from November 1645 to February 1646.[16]

At the same time, however, the Calderóns printed at least three works for Palafox, a *Carta pastoral* in 1640, his *El pastor del noche buena* in 1644, and another *Carta pastoral* in 1649.[17] In addition, two of Paula de Benavides' employees or associates appeared as printers in his diocese of Puebla in 1642 and 1643. Significantly, in 1648 Benavides issued the *Imagen de la Virgen María* by the diocesan cleric Miguel Sánchez, the first printed text to include the story of Saint Juan Diego as a part of the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe.[18] It is therefore difficult to argue that Paula de Benavides fully sided with either Palafox or the religious orders in the affair, at least during the first half of the decade.

It is not clear if any of this calculus of diocesan versus regular clergy entered into viceroy Escalona's decision to award the monopoly to Benavides over Robledo in January of 1641. However, given Robledo's ties to the Carmelites, awarding the

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[15] Zambrano, *Diccionario bio-bibliografico*, t. 4, pp. 514-560. The brief Zambrano cites may also be Medina *México* 1806, *En el pleito, que se trata entre el Ordinario, y Sagrada Religión de Santo Domingo*. See also AGN Inquisición, vol. 340, exp. 13.

[16] Israel *Race class and politics,* p. 182-183.

[17] Medina *México* 538, 586 and 688, respectively. Medina was unable to determine the printer for the *Pastor de noche buena*, however it bears the imprint of Paula de Benavides.

[18] Medina *México* 678. Across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe grew into a proxy for the opposition between creoles and peninsulars.

monopoly to him would almost certainly have been seen as supporting a Palafox ally. Benavides' multiple and cross-cutting ties allowed Escalona to make the choice least likely to endorse an opponent while simultaneously allowing him to bestow his patronage upon a client linked to multiple networks.

The issue was not settled, however, and on 17 October 1641 Paula de Benavides returned to the viceroy claiming that Francisco Robledo and Juan Ruiz, the only other printers active at the time, were infringing on her rights under the monopoly by printing *cartillas* under the guise of doctrinal works. Such a subterfuge was common. In 1593, for example, when the Cathedral of Valladolid was renewing its privilege on *cartillas*, it protested that "there is much error in the designs and inventions of the printers and other persons who print books with the title of *Doctrina Cristiana* or *Catecismo*, putting in them the ABC [e. g. the syllabary] and other principles necessary for learning to read." In response, Philip II ordered that "no one may print *cartillas* or Christian doctrine" without the license of the Cathedral of Valladolid.[19] If Robledo and Ruiz were indeed printing such texts in 1641, as Benavides claimed, they have not survived until today. She may simply have been gambling that a strong offense would be her best defense.

Benavides may have anticipated a threat to her life and livelihood. Spaniards often assumed that all Portuguese were crypto-Jews, since following the expulsion order of 1492, many Spanish Jews who chose not to convert instead fled to Portugal. In the Americas, this sentiment grew more acute following 1636, when Inquisitor Juan de Mañozca led purges of the crypto-Jewish community in Cartagena before moving on to Lima.

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[19] "[H]eran tantas las trazas e invenciones de los impresores, y otras personas, que imprimían libros con título de doctrina Cristiana, o catecismos, poniendo en ellos el A.B.C. y los demás principios necesarios para aprender a leer…[N]inguno pudiese imprimir cartillas y doctrina Cristiana," Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, *El libro en España y América. Legislación y censura, (siglos XV-XVIII),* Madrid: Arco Libros, 2000, vol. II, p. 1273.

José Montero, Paula de Benavides' father-in-law, was Portuguese-born. He served as super-cargo (*sobrecargo*) for Antonio de Toro and Juan López Ramón, traveling frequently between Seville and Cartagena, Tierra Firme, and New Spain at the height of the repression.[20] Six months prior to Benavides' October complaint to the viceroy, in April 1641, word had reached Mexico of the Portuguese revolt, heightening concerns about New Spain's crypto-Jewish community.

In a continuation of the purge that had begun in Cartagena, New Spain's Inquisition began a wave of arrests that effectively did away with the largely Portuguese crypto-Jewish community in Mexico. Benavides' claims against Robledo and Ruiz may have been an attempt to head off accusations that she was somehow tied to that community through her family ties to Montero. Denunciations to the Inquisition could not, in theory, be made out of malice. With her charges against Robledo and Ruiz, Benavides may have sought to head off an accusation that she was somehow tied to the crypto-Jewish community. Any suggestion of links to that population via her relationship with Montero could be dismissed as arising from malicious intent emerging from her confrontation with Robledo and Ruiz.

As a result of Benavides' complaint, the viceroy sent his assessor to the printing houses of both Francisco Robledo and Juan Ruiz to investigate. Robledo responded that he had not printed any *cartillas* and that there were none in his shop, but to avoid litigation he agreed to turn over to Paula de Benavides the fourteen *Doctrinas* in Náhuatl that he had in his shop. Significantly, in the context of the dispute between diocesan and regular clergy, these were undoubtedly Bartolomé de Alva's *Confesionario mayor y menor* printed by Francisco Salbago in 1634. Alva's *Confesionario* was the first Náhuatl

[20] A super-cargo oversaw and traveled with shipments, and could travel more freely than emigrants. See, for example, AHPS, Oficio 19, Alonso Alarcón, vol. 12880, fol. 339r-v.

language doctrinal work produced by a diocesan cleric and in it he was highly critical of the mendicants' skills. The text, however, does not include elements of the *cartillas* that would have breached the original monopoly, specifically, the ABC and syllabary.

Juan Ruiz, on the other hand, contested Benavides's claim, arguing that "since the [first] monopolies on *cartillas* in Spanish had been done with Diego Garrido," there had never been a prohibition on printing *Doctrinas* in Náhuatl that included an ABC, "as those by the old printers," adding that none of those who had previously held the *asiento* had asked him to stop.[21] In support of his claim, he produced a 1605 *Doctrina* in Latin, Castilian and Náhuatl that included an ABC and other aids to teaching reading. This 1605 *Doctrina* apparently has not survived, but was most likely the *Manuale Administranda Sacramenta,* by Miguel Zárate*,* printed by Fernando Balli and mentioned in Lora Baquio's *Manual Mexicano* of 1634.[22] But Ruiz's assertion that early *Doctrinas* in Mexican languages also included the ABC was, in fact, true, as the Dominican *Doctrina Cristiana* of 1550 includes them on leaves 2v-3r.[23]

Disingenuously, in light of his objection to the initial grant in 1621, Ruiz claimed that he had always understood the monopoly applied only to "*cartillas* in Spanish to teach Spaniards to read." Finally, he maintained that he had printed nothing like *cartillas*, simply *Doctrinas* in Náhuatl "at a price accommodating the poverty of the Indians."[24] Ruiz asked the viceroy to allow him to continue and that he make a clear distinction

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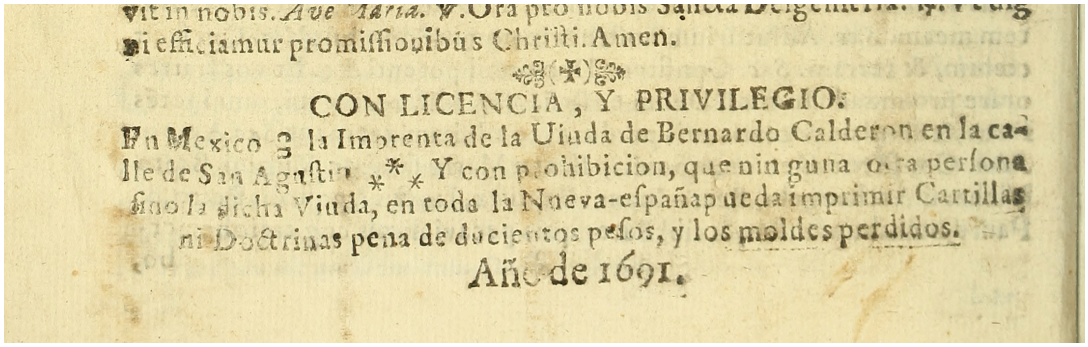
[21] "[D]esde que se han echo los asientos de las cartillas en lengua española con Diego Garrido," AGN, General de Parte, vol. 8, exp. 176, fol. 122r-v

[22] Francisco de Lorra Baquio *Manual Mexicano de administrar los Santos Sacramentos conforme al Manual Toledano*, México, Diego Gutiérrez, 1634, fol. 5v; see also Francisco González de Cossío, *La imprenta en México (1553-1820). 510 adiciones a la obra de José Toribio Medina.* México: UNAM, 1952, p. 28.

[23] Medina *México* 17.

[24] "[C]artillas en lengua española para enseñar a leer a los españoles." AGN, General de Parte, vol. 8, exp. 176, fol. 122r-v

between the *cartillas* used to teach reading and *Doctrinas* in indigenous languages. The viceroy was not persuaded, and in a judgement similar to Philip II's of 1593, he ordered that neither Ruiz nor Robledo print or sell *cartillas* under the pretext of calling them *Doctrinas* or catechisms, and that they deliver those they had printed to Paula de Benavides within three days. This order was given some heft two days later, on 19 October 1641, when the Inquisition appointed Paula de Benavides' business associate, Hipólito de Ribera, *corrector de libros.* This appointment included the authority to enter any establishment or private residence and emend or remove any books prohibited by the Index, *cartas acordadas*, or Inquisition edicts.[25]


vit in nobis. *Ave Maria.* ℣. Ora pro nobis Sancta Dei genitrix. ℟. Vt dig
ni efficiamur promissionibus Christi. Amen.

CON LICENCIA, Y PRIVILEGIO.

En Mexico en la Imprenta de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon en la ca-
lle de San Agustin. *** Y con prohibicion, que ninguna otra persona
sino la dicha Viuda, en toda la Nueva-españa pueda imprimir Cartillas
ni Doctrinas pena de duc[illegible]tos pesos, y los moldes perdidos.

Año de 1691.

Illustration 4: Colophon from *Cartilla mayor, en lengua castellana, latina, y mexicana*. México: viuda de Bernardo Calderón [sic], 1691, stating the terms of the privilege. The worn type and retention of "widow of Bernardo Calderón," seven years following her death, suggests the type for these frequently reprinted items was left standing, ready for reuse.

Effectively, with this maneuver, Paula de Benavides managed to extend her monopoly to include a much broader range of materials—doctrinal works whether they included the ABC or not—that were much more substantive than the single-sheet *cartillas*. She had essentially asserted a much broader claim, and later renewals by

[25] AGN, General de Parte, vol. 8, exp. 176, 122r-v; AGN, Inquisición, vol. 438, exp. 30, fol. 388.

subsequent viceroys ratified the comprehensive monopoly. The 1684 renewal, for example, reads in part,

> For the present, I extend and give privilege to the said Paula de Benavides and her heirs, that for the period of ten years that will begin to be counted from the twenty-seventh of January of the coming year of 1685 that they, *and the persons with their orders*, may print *cartillas* and *doctrinas* and sell them both in this city and in all the other settlements and outlets of the provinces of this government with no official imposing any impediment, and I order that *no other printer print or sell them*, neither personally nor by third parties, during the said ten years under penalty of 200 pesos …and loss of the press…[Italics mine].[26]

It would not be until 1727, when José Bernardo de Hogal challenged the descendants of Paula de Benavides and Bernardo Calderón over the monopoly that the Council of the Indies recognized the extent of Benavides's maneuver. Her assertion conflated privileges belonging to two different entities, the privilege on *cartillas* granted to the Royal Hospital of the Indians and administered by the viceroy, and the privilege on doctrinal works such as the catechism, granted to the Congregation of the Anunciada, a Jesuit sodality.[27]

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[26] "Por el presente prorrogo y doy privilegio a la dicha Paula de Benavides y a sus herederos para que por tiempo de diez anos que empiezan a correr desde veinte y siete de enero del ano próximo que viene de mil seiscientos y ochenta y cinco puedan imprimir las cartillas y doctrinas y venderlas y las personas que tuvieron orden suya así en esta ciudad como en todas la demás poblaciones y puestos de las provincias de esta gobernación sin que ninguna justicia les ponga en ello impedimento alguno y mando que otro ningún impresor la imprima ni venda por si ni por interpósita persona durante los dichos diez anos pena de doscientos pesos … y perdimiento de todos los moldes…" AGN Reales Cedulas Duplicadas, vol. 28, exp. 576, fol. 427r-v; for the 1684 renewal, for example, AGI, México, 556, fol. [14-18v]. See also Reyes Gómez, *El libro en España y América*. vol. I, p. 394 for a similar expansion of monopoly rights in Zaragoza, Spain, that impoverished competing printers, with the number of presses dropping from 18 in 1717 to 7 in the 1730s.

[27] The Congregation of the Annunciata was founded at the Jesuit college in Rome in 1563, and was dedicated, among other things, to encouraging weekly communion and confession. It functioned somewhat in parallel to the Jesuit colleges, with a focus on education. The Mexican Congregation was founded in 1574 at the Jesuit college of San Pedro and San Pablo and held the privilege on the catechism and other doctrinal works, as well as on Latin collections such as the three published between 1631 and 1632, the *Advertencias para mayor noticia de la Gramática,* México: Bernardo Calderón, 1631; *Solutae orationes fragmenta*, México: Francisco Salbago, 1632, and *Primeros rudimentos de la gramática*, México: Juan Ruiz, 1632. The preliminaries of all three mention the Congregation's privilege. On the Congregation more generally, it is briefly discussed in Susan Schroeder, "Jesuits, Nahuas, and the Good Death Society in Mexico City, 1710-1767, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 80:1 (2000), pp. 43-76. For an excellent survey of Marian devotions in Rome, see Michael W. Maher, "Reforming Rome: The Society of Jesus and Its Congregations at the Church of the Gesù," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1997. For Europe

By extending her monopoly beyond the *cartillas* to include more substantive doctrinal texts, Benavides' move can be understood as an effort to control the production and circulation of these fundamental resources. These types of texts were essential to evangelization efforts from the earliest days of the viceroyalty, and central to the conflict between the diocesan clergy and the religious orders over the administration of indigenous parishes. Palafox had begun the "taking of Tlaxcala," for example, with the order that members of the religious orders be examined on their language competence, and the *cartillas* and doctrinal manuals were indispensable tools for language education for the clerics themselves.

The crucial phrase in the quotation above is "the persons with their orders." Over a dozen sacramental manuals had been printed between 1539 and 1640, some now lost, and some nineteen more appeared between 1641 and 1720.[28] Of these nineteen, two were produced during the conflicted decade of the 1640s, Andrés Sáenz de la Peña's *Manual de los Santos Sacramentos*, done by Francisco Robledo in 1642 and discussed below, and Bernabé Ruiz Venegas' *De Institución de Sacramentos* issued by Juan Ruiz in 1646. Of the remaining seventeen, the Calderón clan printed eleven. The other six were issued by Francisco Rodríguez de Lupercio (three), Diego Fernández de León (one), Juan José Guillena Carrascoso (one) and Miguel de Ortega y Bonilla (one). As the following chapter will argue in more detail, it is likely that many of these were produced by printers "with their [e. g. Benavides'] order."

Members of the religious orders and diocesan clergy enjoyed differential access to these doctrinal works. The mendicants could rely on their convent libraries to consult them, while the seculars were not so fortunate since diocesan libraries were

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more broadly, see Louis Chatellier, *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society*, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989.

[28] A fundamental shift in Mexico's print trade took place following 1720, as discussed in Chapter 5.

underdeveloped. To help remedy this fact, Palafox donated his own library to his diocese in 1646.[29] As witnessed by the fourteen copies of Alva's *Confesionario* that Robledo surrendered in October 1641, Benavides's monopoly on the *cartillas* and *doctrinas* put her in the position to block others—particularly Francisco Robledo, allied with Palafox—from printing and circulating these texts. Thus Paula de Benavides was not only attempting to shield herself from an accusation of links to the crypto-Jewish community, but also participating in the broader conflict between the diocesan clergy and their patron Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, on the one hand, and the regular clergy on the other.

If Benavides' October challenge was a gamble that a strong offence would be the best defense, it paid off handsomely: not only did she manage to extend her monopoly and shield herself from an allegation of ties to the crypto-Jewish community, but also acquired, through her association with Hipólito de Ribera, *corrector de libros* for the Inquisition, an indirect alliance with the very institution that would have prosecuted those alleged ties. This success was somewhat tempered, however, by Francisco Robledo's appointment as printer to the Inquisition shortly thereafter. Despite the fact that Francisco Salbago had served in that role from 1634 to his death in December 1638, and that Robledo succeeded him by purchasing his press, Robledo was not appointed to that post until 1642. Pérez Salazar asserts that this was "assuredly" due to Palafox's patronage, although there is no documentary evidence to that effect. However, the appointment would have served Palafox's ends at the time by extending his sway with the Inquisition

[29] In his *Defensa canónica* on behalf of Palafox, Fernando Ortiz de Valdés writes, "In prosecution of this work [education] he has collected one of the most numerous and select libraries that exists in America, which could equal those that Pliny celebrates...[and] he has donated it to the church and seminaries so that after his days all the books can be used for the public benefit of the bishopric...In all of the most celebrated cathedrals prelates have taken this care to donate their libraries for the common good of the clergy." Fernando Ortiz de Valdés, *Defensa canónica por la dignidad del obispo de la Puebla de Los Ángeles*, Madrid, s.n., 1648, fol. 233r-234r.

in the midst of the Portuguese controversy. At the same time Robledo's nomination balanced Hipólito de Ribera's appointment as *corrector de libros*.[30]

If Palafox sought to counter Benavides' influence with the viceroy and Inquisition with Robledo's appointment as the latter's official printer, he also sought to diminish her control over indigenous language and doctrinal publications. By June 1642, the conflict between Palafox and Escalona reached such an impasse that Palafox exercised the authority the crown had granted him as visitor general and removed Escalona, assuming the position of viceroy on 10 June 1642.[31] By August of that year, and by Palafox's order, Andrés Sáenz de la Peña had composed his *Manual de los Santos Sacramentos* in Castilian and Náhuatl. In addition to ordering its composition, Palafox decreed that it be the only such work used in New Spain, under penalty of excommunication and a two hundred-peso fine.[32]

Palafox's ally Francisco de Robledo printed Sáenz de la Peña's text in Mexico City. At that moment, Paula de Benavides was in no position to confront the hostile bishop and viceroy over the publication of this work, one that breached her newly expanded monopoly rights. At the same time, however, Palafox did not revoke the monopoly on *cartillas* granted to Paula de Benavides by the previous viceroy. Doing so would have risked alienating Benavides and her extensive network in the civil and ecclesiastical realms in New Spain, and might have prompted her to appeal to the Council of the Indies, as had occurred under similar circumstances in the 1620s and would again in the 1720s. Both of the latter appeals resulted in royal confirmation of the grants and such a controversy might have drawn unwelcome scrutiny to Palafox's reform program.

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[30] Pérez Salazar *Los impresores de Puebla en la época*, p. 245.
[31] Israel. *Race Class and Politics*. pp. 212-213.
[32] Medina *México* 565.

THE ORIGINS OF PRINTING IN PUEBLA

It is difficult to miss the near coincidence of dates between Palafox assuming the position of viceroy on 10 June 1642 and the license appearing in the earliest surviving Puebla imprint, the *Sumario de las indulgencias y perdones concedidas a los cofrades del Santísimo Sacramento visitando la iglesia donde está instituida la dicha Cofradía,* dated in Puebla on 20 June, just ten days later. The only license that appears in the *Sumario* is that of the Ecclesiastical Judge Ordinary, one of the officials allowed to issue licenses in some parts of Spain. In New Spain, however, the legal code prohibited printing without viceregal license, and the penalties for doing so were severe. Palafox, as viceroy, no doubt issued at least his tacit approval.

But the *Sumario* is a brief work in octavo format consisting of only 16 leaves (32 pages) and required only two printed sheets; one thousand copies could have been produced in less than a week.[33] Pedro Quiñones, who had returned to Paula de Benavides' press in 1641, printed it and Juan de Borja Gandía funded it on behalf of the *cofradía* of the Holy Sacrament. It hardly seems likely that Quiñones would dismantle a press in Mexico City and move it to Puebla for such a minor job: the additional cost would have been prohibitive. Moreover, his return to the Calderóns in Mexico City shortly thereafter indicates that he did not remain in Puebla. If he did not transport a press to Puebla, with whose materials did he print the *Sumario*?

Pérez Salazar argues that printing began in Puebla as early as 30 January 1642, based on an apprenticeship contract signed on that date between Juan Blanco de Alcázar and Manuel de los Olivos "native of the city of Jerez de la Frontera in the Kingdom of

[33] One must ask if the extant copy is complete. In the secondary literature, I have found no mention of the fact that there is a catchword "ORA" on the verso of the last leaf. Catchwords consist of the first three letters of the first word on the following leaf or page, and in this case it is probable that it was "ORACIÓN" or "ORACIONES," and the extant copy may be incomplete. In any event, the *Sumario* was undoubtedly brief.

Castile and orphaned of father and mother…"[34] He goes on to suggest, however, that a press may have been operating as early as 1639, producing only ephemeral pieces such as blank forms.

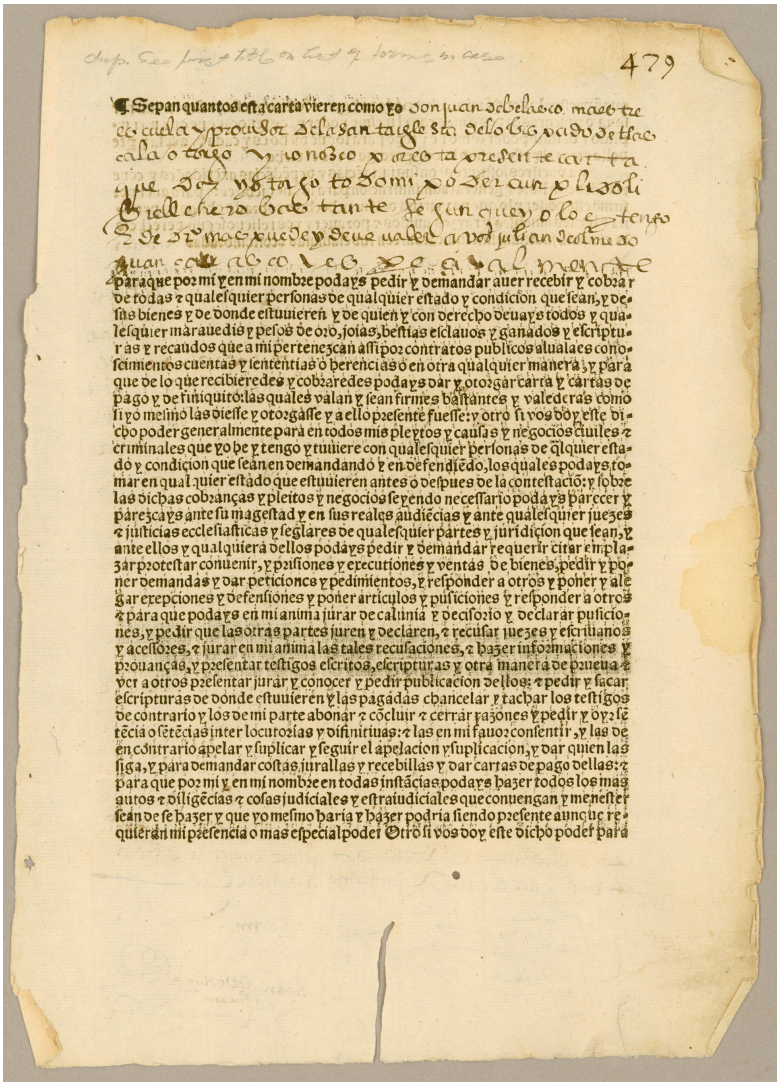

Illustration 5: Printed notarial form, *circa* 1565. A royal *pragmática* of 1638 required the use of fiscal paper (*papel sellado*) for notarial instruments, putting an end to this profitable item.

[34] "[N]atural de la ciudad de Jerez de la frontera en los Reinos de Castilla y huérfano de padre y madre…" Pérez Salazar, *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial*, p. 9-12.

Until recently, the apprenticeship contract has been the earliest notice of Blanco in Puebla. Newly located documents, however, identify him as "resident" in Puebla as early as 28 June 1636, indicating that he was recently settled in that city, but not yet a denizen, or registered *vecino*.[35] He may have chosen to settle in Puebla to avail himself of the protection and patronage of his father-in-law, Dr. Luís de Monzón, treasurer of the cathedral, though the latter had died in March of that year. If the Inquisition transferred Blanco's press to Salbago as a result of his encounter in 1629, as argued in the previous chapter, was it returned to him following Salbago's death in December of 1638? Was it instead part of the property from Salbago's estate that Robledo acquired from the Carmelite convent in January 1639 and, as such, did Blanco become Robledo's employee as well? Either might be the case, which raises the possibility that Pérez Salazar's conjecture about ephemeral printing in Puebla as early as 1639 or earlier may have some substance. What does seem clear, however, is that Blanco was not printing substantial works under his own name between 1628 and 1646, and was likely prohibited from doing so.[36]

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[35] AGNP, Esc. 3, Caja 79, Protocolos de Juan Guerra, 28 June 1636. A designation of "estante," or "at present," would indicate that he was not settled there, but instead with a permanent residence elsewhere. I am grateful to Marina Garone for alerting me to this document and others from the Notarial Archive of Puebla.

[36] What then to make of the *Memorial de las casas reales de Castilla, León, Aragón, Navarra, y Portugal,* issued in Mexico by "Iunn Blanco" in 1637? Could it be a fictitious imprint? The text in question is a genealogical work tracing Spanish noble houses and their descent from royal lineages. It was supposedly authored by the vaguely Portuguese-sounding "Antonio de Figueroa Mendoza y Silva" who is otherwise unknown and untraceable, and was dedicated to "Juan Luis de la Cerda," Duke of Medinaceli, referring to either the fifth or sixth in that line, Juan Luis de la Cerda y Portugal (1544-1594) or Juan Luis de la Cerda y Aragón (1569-1607). The language of the dedication indicates that the dedicatee was alive at the time the text was composed although internal references indicate that the text was composed nearly three decades following the death of the sixth Duke of Medinaceli in 1607 but no earlier than 1636. "Guarde Dios a V. Exc. por muchos, y felices años," ("God guard Your Excellency for many and happy years)" and "Digo verdad, que viendo una dedicatoria del año de 1636 para un gran Caballero…" ("I speak the truth, that seeing a dedication from the year 1636 to a great gentleman…"). Antonio de Figueroa Mendoza y Silva. *Memorial de las casas reales de Castilla, León, Aragón, Navarra, y Portugal*. México: Juan Blanco de Alcázar, 1637, sig. A2r and fol. 21v Although the title page claims that it was printed with the necessary licenses, the latter are not included in the printed text as required by law. Finally, with Blanco settled in

What appears reasonable, though by no means certain, is that the Inquisition ordered Blanco to be exiled from Mexico in 1629 and he settled in Puebla sometime thereafter, but no later than June 1636. Likewise, that the press that had been transferred to Salbago was in some manner returned to Blanco following the former's death in December 1638 but that the injunction on his printing under his own name continued in force. If this were the case, then it is also most likely that Pedro Quiñones printed the *Sumario* in Puebla with Juan Blanco de Alcázar's materials. Significantly, when Quiñones was working for Calderón and Salbago, the imprint would frequently read, for example, "*En la imprenta de Francisco Salbago, por Pedro Quiñones.*" The abbreviated imprint on the *Sumario*, simply "*por Pedro Quiñones*," eliding mention of the owner of the press, may be an additional argument in favor of it having been printed with Blanco's materials. By 1643, Quiñones had returned to Mexico, working for Paula de Benavides.

DIEGO GUTIÉRREZ, THE SECOND PRINTER IN PUEBLA

No other Puebla imprints from 1642 have so far appeared. Although bibliographers have registered five Puebla imprints from 1643, only two can be tied to their printers. The first of these is a sermon delivered in Oaxaca by bishop Bartolomé de Benavente y Benavides y de la Cerda, printed by Diego Gutiérrez.[37] Gutiérrez first figures in the bibliographical

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Puebla, "*residente*," by mid-1636, a "1637" imprint from Mexico appears doubtful. Neither the houses of the Marquis de Cadereyta (viceroy 1635-1640) nor those of the Duke of Escalona, first grandee of Spain appointed as viceroy (1640-1642) appear in the text as descended from royal lineage and that omission would cast doubt on the legitimacy of their noble titles. It is plausible to suggest that this publication was issued after word of the Portuguese Revolt had reached New Spain and was intended as a scurrilous attack on viceroy Escalona, brother-in-law to Portuguese king João IV. If indeed it appeared in the midst of the Portuguese conflict, it would have been issued between April 1641, when word of the revolt reached New Spain, and June of 1642, when Palafox deposed the viceroy. While Blanco himself may have printed the text, if it was public knowledge that he had taken on an apprentice in January of 1642, it is equally likely that other printers may have seen him as a potential competitor and sought to impugn him by issuing a scurrilous publication under his name, and in this vein, the misspelling of his name in the imprint, "Iunn," is suggestive. Finally, it should be recalled, that the Inquisition silenced Blanco for apparently issuing a previous scurrilous imprint defaming a viceroy in 1629.

[37] Medina *Puebla* 6

record in 1628, working as a compositor in the printing house of Ana de Herrera, widow of Diego Garrido, where he set up Guillermo de los Ríos' *Triunfos, coronas, trofeos, de la perseguida Iglesia de Japón*.[38] As Medina notes, he was most likely the son of Pedro Gutiérrez, who had likewise worked for the Garridos as early as 1620.[39] He printed two minor works *ex officina Didaci Gutierrez* in 1632, and an otherwise unrecorded edition of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg's *De la afición y amor de Jesús*, now at the National Library of Mexico, in the same year. All three may have been his "graduation pieces" as he emerged from his apprenticeship, being two brief works in Latin, one religious and one secular, and a more extensive work in duodecimo format, uncommon in Mexico at the time. His edition of Lorra Baquio's *Manual Mexicano,* "*por Diego Gutiérrez,*" appeared in 1634.[40] Again, it is uncertain if the latter was produced at his own press or at one owned by another printer owing to the phrasing of the imprint that elides the name of the owner. As mentioned above, Lorra Baquio was a secular cleric, and the text appeared at another moment when conflicts flared between the relative jurisdictions of the secular and religious arms. Thus it is possible that the other printers active at the time were hesitant to take on the project, or at least take credit for it.

Benavides de la Cerda's 1643 *Sermón* was dedicated to Palafox, and like the *Sumario*, was a brief work consisting of no more than eight sheets. Also like the *Sumario*, Gutiérrez elided the owner of the press, signing it "*por Diego Gutiérrez*" rather than "*en la imprenta de Diego Gutiérrez*" suggesting that it too was most likely printed with

[38] Medina *México* 400
[39] Medina *La imprenta en México,* vol. I, pp. CXXV-CXXVI.
[40] Medina *México* 446.

Blanco's materials and was, incidentally, the last publication to appear with Gutiérrez in an imprint.[41]

It is by no means clear if Quiñones and Gutiérrez sought to strike out on their own, or if Paula de Benavides sent them to Puebla in an attempt to extend her business and possibly forestall competition in that city. Both Quiñones and Gutiérrez were closely affiliated with Calderón and his widow; Quiñones in fact remained with the family into the 1680s.[42] At the same time, Palafox may have been seeking to lure away Benavides' employees and bring them within his orbit. What seems most likely, however, is that there was a delicate dance going on between Palafox and Benavides. The appearance of a press in Puebla with a licensing scheme not authorized by the Laws of Spain could have drawn royal scrutiny and a specific order for its closure, on the one hand, and, more broadly, unwelcome attention to Palafox's reform efforts on the other. The publication of Sáenz de la Peña's sacramental manual in 1642 was a provocation that could have motivated Benavides to complain to the crown and extending an invitation to her employees, Quiñones and Gutiérrez, may have ameliorated that possibility.

FRANCISCO ROBLEDO AND THE *HISTORIA REAL SAGRADA*

The other book with a Puebla imprint to appear in 1643 was Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's *Historia real sagrada*, printed by Francisco Robledo.[43] In it, Palafox set out his vision of the proper relationship between sovereign and subjects, one that he had

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[41] Medina erred in dating Gutiérrez's last appearance in a Mexican imprint to 1643 or later: The *Solutae orationis fragmenta* (Medina *México* 578), which he dated to 1643 was printed in 1641 by the widow of Bernardo Calderón, and although he asserts that Gutiérrez worked as a compositor, the colophon simply states "cum licentia, partim per Didactum Gutiérrez." In other words, that Gutiérrez was sharing in the risks and profits from the production but was not necessarily involved in its composition or printing. If these conjectures are correct, that both the *Sumario* and the *Sermón* were produced at the press that belonged to Juan Blanco, Medina's suggestion that Gutiérrez's "press" went to Manual de Olivos is also untenable, Medina, *La Imprenta en México,* CXXVI.

[42] AGN Inquisición vol. 287 exp. 5 [sin folio].

[43] Medina *Puebla* 4.

hoped to enact as viceroy and that would bring him into conflict with the new viceroy. Palafox was highly critical of the centralizing and regalist policies of Olivares, seeing the attempts to diminish the differing legal guarantees enjoyed by Portugal and Catalonia as motivations for their rebellions of 1640. Judging by the odd, even anomalous, sequence of licenses that appear in the preliminaries, he sent it to press in haste.[44]

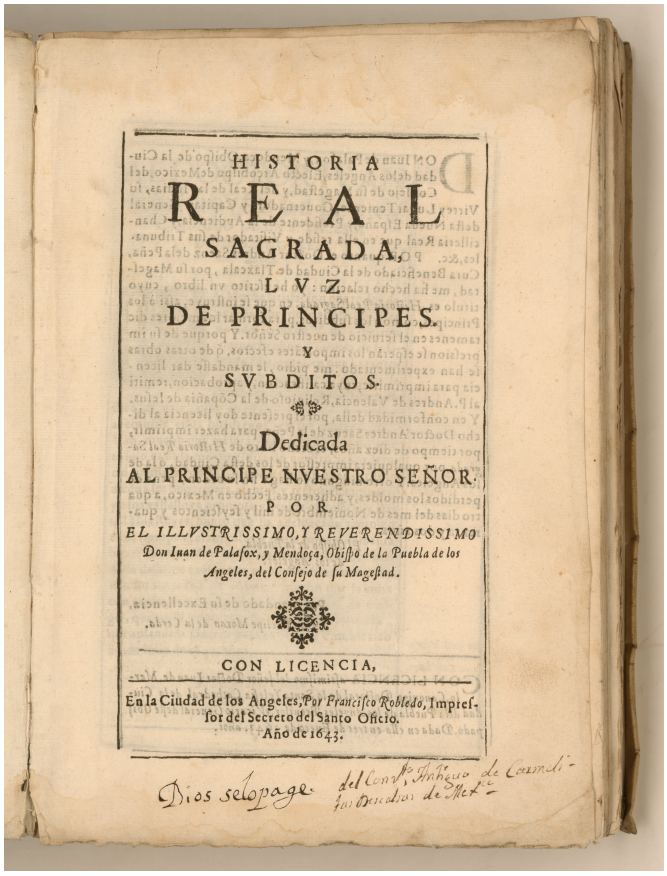
HISTORIA
REAL
SAGRADA,
LVZ
DE PRINCIPES.
Y
SVBDITOS.
Dedicada
AL PRINCIPE NVESTRO SEÑOR.
POR
EL ILLVSTRISSIMO, Y REVERENDISSIMO
Don Iuan de Palafox, y Mendoça, Obispo de la Puebla de los Angeles, del Consejo de su Magestad.
CON LICENCIA,
En la Ciudad de los Angeles, Por Francisco Robledo, Impressor del Secreto del Santo Oficio.
Año de 1643.
Dios se lo page

Illustration 6: Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. *Historia real sagrada*. Puebla: Francisco Robledo, 1643. Once owned by the Carmelite convent in Mexico, and in light of Robledo's relationship with them, the annotation "Dios se lo page" suggests that this may have been Robledo's presentation copy to the Carmelites.

[44] "Preliminaries" include the title-page, licenses and approvals, dedication and the like and, although they appear first in the final bound volume, they are printed after the body of the text itself.

By early November, Palafox was no doubt aware of the arrival of the new viceroy, García Sarmiento Sotomayor, Conde de Salvatierra, and thus of his own soon-to-be-terminated authority in that position, which occurred on 23 November 1642.[45] Palafox apparently foresaw difficulties getting Salvatierra's license for the text and therefore issued it peremptorily on 4 November. Although other imprints depart from the normative sequence, Palafox's license as viceroy, as the ultimate civil authority, should not have preceded the license of the Ordinary, granted only on 3 January 1643. Printing the *Historia real sagrada* in Puebla in 1643, after Salvatierra arrived, was thus shielded by Palafox's early license, issued while he was still viceroy. It is also possible that he was relying on his authority as a member of the Council of the Indies, as the Laws of Spain authorized Council members to grant licenses to print in Spain itself, though such authority had not yet been tested in New Spain.

Such a strategy easily could have provoked immediate conflict over the respective jurisdictions of Palafox and Salvatierra. Nevertheless, despite the fact that Salvatierra sided with the Franciscans immediately upon his arrival, and that Palafox began turning his attention to the Jesuits by launching the first salvos in what would become a pamphlet war, according to Jonathan Israel, the years 1643-1644 were the most politically tranquil of the decade.[46] Palafox returned to Mexico City in September of 1644 to continue work on the *visitas* and there he sent his *El pastor de noche buena* to Benavides' press and two other works to Robledo. The licenses of two of these three imprints are dated September and November of that year, suggesting that he most likely directly oversaw the correction of the proofs in Mexico City, as he had with the *Historia real sagrada* in Puebla.[47]

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[45] Álvarez de Toledo, *Politics and reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico,* p. 160.
[46] Israel, *Race class and politics,* p. 222.
[47] Israel, *Race class and politics,* p. 224

Despite Medina's assertion that Francisco Robledo was Palafox's favorite printer, these would be his last publications for the bishop. Relations between Palafox and the Inquisition had soured due to the Holy Office's corrupt conduct in its persecution of the crypto-Jewish community, and it is possible that Robledo's position as official printer to the Holy Office figured into their estrangement; an ironic end, considering the likelihood of Palafox's role in helping Robledo obtain that title.

1645-1653, JUAN BLANCO DE ALCÁZAR, ACTIVE THEN SILENCED IN PUEBLA

With the exception of one work near the end of his tenure in Mexico, a 1649 *Carta pastoral* printed at Paula de Benavides' press, all of Palafox's post-1645 publications were done in Puebla, one by Manual de Olivos and the remainder by Juan Blanco de Alcázar. Since Juan Blanco took on Manuel de Olivos as an apprentice in early 1642, his two imprints from 1645—one of which was by Palafox—were likely his "graduation pieces" signifying the end of his apprenticeship.[48] From 1646, Juan Blanco's name is the only one to appear on Puebla imprints until 1654, although Olivos may have continued working as a journeyman in Blanco's shop.

If it is true that the Inquisition ordered Blanco to cease printing under his own name following his arrest in 1629-1630, what appears to be Palafox's rehabilitation of him in 1646 would constitute a direct affront to the authority and jurisdiction of the Inquisition and the viceroy. After all, the latter was the only official the Laws of Spain allowed to issue the final civil license for printed works. As Palafox's disagreements with the Jesuits over the payment of tithes flared in 1645, the dispute became highly partisan and factionalized. This conflict is reflected in the bibliographical record, with both sides

[48] Pérez Salazar, *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial*, p. 13. Olivos subsequently traveled to Peru, establishing a printing house there in 1665 and continued until his death in 1690. His career there was notably litigious, particularly over the monopoly on *cartillas*. Medina, *La imprenta en Lima*, vol. 1, pp. XLVII-XLVIII.

lobbing legal briefs, *pasquines* and other works at each other with great fury, Palafox from Puebla and his opponents from Mexico. Perhaps Palafox knew that Blanco's renewed career in Puebla might be short-lived, as he wrote to Madrid in January of 1645 requesting permission to open a press in order to publish the *Recopilación de las leyes de las Indias*, compiled by Antonio León Pinelo.

The *Recopilación* had been completed and submitted it to the Council of the Indies in 1635, but publication was continuously delayed. Writing with no small hyperbole, Palafox claimed that "there are very bad letters [i.e. type] here, and the trade is quite forgotten."[49] To support his petition, he cited the example of José Valle de la Cerda, then bishop of Badajoz, who had established the first press in Almería, Spain, in 1640 while he was bishop there.[50] After receiving Palafox's petition, the Council of the Indies asked León Pinelo for an estimate of the cost for its production. Although his response came only two years later, León Pinelo anticipated that each set would require 1,000 sheets of paper and that to produce 2,000 copies would require 20,000 *ducados* (27,500 pesos). The paper alone was estimated to cost 10,000 *ducados* and the publication would fully occupy two presses for two years.[51] This would have been the most substantial text undertaken in New Spain up to—and well beyond—that time. By way of comparison, at a mere 148 sheets, Palafox's *Historia real sagrada* was one of the most extensive publications seen since the sixteenth century. Considering that paper exports to the Indies were taxed while books were not, not to mention the expense of upgrading and equipping

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[49] "[A]quí hay muy mala letra y está muy olvidado este ejercicio." José Toribio Medina, *Discurso sobre la importancia, forma, y disposición de la Recopilación de leyes de la Indias Occidentales*, Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1956, p. 105.

[50] *CCPB*, suggests that Valle de la Cerda's episcopal press in Almería was short lived, apparently issuing only two works in 1640 and 1641, and he was transferred to Badajoz even before the second appeared. It is unclear if there was any relationship between these two events.

[51] José Toribio Medina. *Discurso sobre la importancia, forma, y disposición de la Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias Occidentales.* pp. 103-106

two presses, Palafox's cost to print the *Recopilación* in Puebla would have been substantially higher.

The Council of the Indies effectively exercised a pocket-veto and did not respond, ordering only to "[o]mit the answer to Sr. don Juan de Palafox in the point of the license he requests asking leave to have a press and in the proposal he presents offering to print the *Recopilación de las leyes de las Indias*…"[52] Palafox's citation of Valle de la Cerda's press in Almería may not have done him any favors. The first book to emerge there was Valle de la Cerda's 1640 text, *Maria effigies, revelatioq[ue] Trinitatis et atributorum Dei,* that includes a long dedication to the Count Duke of Olivares. By the time Palafox's petition had reached Spain in 1645, Olivares had resigned in disgrace and was under investigation by the Inquisition.[53]

Whether the Council reviewed José Valle de la Cerda's text or not, they no doubt understood that, as patron of the *Recopilación*, Palafox would have been able to include a dedicatory epistle setting out his own perspective on the appropriate relationship between secular and episcopal authority, which was at odds with the crown's. In addition, the Council perhaps recognized the symbolism of an episcopal press publishing secular laws and the implications this might carry for the relationship between the viceroy and Palafox. Although similar to Pérez de la Serna's publication of the Third Mexican Council in 1622, that figured in the conflicts leading up to the tumult of 1624 and the ejection of viceroy Gelves, permitting Palafox to publish the *Recopilación* in Puebla would have given crown endorsement to his position over the viceroy's.

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[52] "Omítase el responder al señor don Juan de Palafox en el punto de la licencia que pide para tener imprenta y en el de la propuesta que hace ofreciendo imprimir la Recopilación de las leyes de las Indias" Medina *Discurso,* p. 107.

[53] On Olivares, see J. H. Elliott. *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

While Palafox may have been hoping to establish his own press under his own authority, his 1645 request for a royal license may also been an attempt to legitimize a *fait accompli*: the operation of a printing house in Puebla from 1642. In addition, Palafox's request to establish a press in Puebla with decentralized licensing authority could also be seen as a tangible expression of the political philosophy that he voiced in the *Historia real sagrada* and his conception of the viceroyalty of New Spain as a coequal kingdom within Spain's composite monarchy. Though no positive law requiring a license to open a press appears in the *Recopilación de las leyes de España* or *de las Indias*, the legal footing for Blanco's house—or rather, the books that were printed there—was questionable. Quiñones' *Sumario*, Benavides de la Cerna's *Sermón*, and Palafox's *Historia real sagrada* were all printed under Palafox's jurisdiction as viceroy of New Spain, although the latter only tenuously.

Works printed after Salvatierra assumed the position of viceroy in 1642, with only the Ordinary' license, were on less secure legal footing, since the viceroy held the ultimate civil authority for licensing them. To publish these imprints, those from 1645 forward, Palafox may have been relying on his position as a member of the Council of the Indies, which he was at pains to maintain prior to his departure for New Spain. However, this was uncharted territory and set up potential jurisdictional conflicts between the bishop and the viceroy.[54]

Among the many pamphlets exchanged between Palafox and the Jesuits during the conflicted years of 1645-1647 were various legal briefs, known as *informaciones en derecho*. *Libro* VIII, *Titulo* XVI, *Ley* III of the *Recopilación de leyes de España*, dated 7 September 1558 specifically exempted "the briefs or memorials presented in suits" from

[54] Álvarez Toledo, *Politics and reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico*, p.53

licensing requirements, although a *Real pragmatica* revoked this exemption on 13 June 1627 and the same law required that all publications include the name of the author and the printer.[55]

In New Spain, however, such texts continued to be published without licenses and anonymously. As a result of Palafox's pamphlet war with the Jesuits, both the crown and the viceroy took steps to silence such marginal printing. On 19 March 1647, then again on 27 May, both issued *Reales Cédulas* ordering that no books be printed without the necessary licenses.[56] The first of these mentioned the "great inconvenience" some of these works caused, as they touched on matters of the *Real Patronato*, a clear reference to the Palafox controversy and his pamphlet war with the Jesuits.[57] The second decree directly cited *"informes en derecho"* and required their licensing by the viceroy.

The penalties for breaching the *cedula's* mandate were severe: 200 lashes and loss of all property including the press and it is telling that it specifically orders that the provisions be announced in both Mexico City and in Puebla.[58] The press in Puebla appears to have gone silent at that point, but in 1649 Juan Blanco began printing in there again. By this time, Palafox had been summoned back to Spain, and his second rehabilitation of—or at the least, his continued support of—Juan Blanco can be seen as one of his final acts of defiance prior to leaving for Spain and the obscure bishopric of Osma in June of 1649.[59]

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[55] "[L]as informaciones ó memoriales que se hacen en los pleitos."
[56] AGN, Reales Cédulas Originales, vol. 10, exp. 41, fol. 153r-154v; AGN Reales Cédulas Duplicadas, vol. 14, exp. 698, fol. 427v. The latter appears to have been reiterated in 1648. Pérez Salazar, *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial*, p. 20.
[57] "[G]randes inconvenientes."
[58] According to Israel, printing was banned entirely, though this does not seem to be the case, see Israel *Race class and politics*, p. 233.
[59] Israel, *Race class and politics*, p. 244.

Despite his patron and protector's departure, Juan Blanco Alcázar continued printing in Puebla in 1650 and 1651. His publications even included a laudatory work, licensed by the Ordinary, praising viceroy Luis Enríquez de Guzmán, who had taken over on 28 June 1650.[60] Little more than a year later, however, on 13 July 1651, viceroy Guzmán ordered the arrest and seizure of all property belonging to any printer in Puebla who had printed anything without the required viceregal license.[61] Blanco de Alcázar's name disappears from the bibliographical record at this point, although he lived another five years. There were no Puebla imprints in 1652.[62] Printing resumed in the city only in 1654, with the appearance of Juan de Borja Infante, son of Juan de Borja Gandía funder of the first book printed in Puebla, the *Sumario* in 1642.[63]

Despite Palafox's early patronage, Francisco Robledo's star had sunk so low that the Holy Office sent the *Relación del tercero auto particular de fe* of April 1648 not to him, but to Juan Ruiz.[64] As official printer to the Inquisition, he was obligated to do the job, thus the move is noteworthy. That same year, Robledo sold his wares, by all appearances to Hipólito de Ribera, and returned to Spain with the same fleet carrying Palafox.[65] The allied presses of Paula de Benavides and Hipólito de Ribera enjoyed a

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[60] Medina *Puebla* 28.

[61] AGN, Real Cédulas Duplicadas, vol. 14, exp. 799, fol. 503v.

[62] Following Blanco's death in 1657, his press went to the Colegio de San Luís. There has been some speculation that it may have been sold to Fr. Francisco de Borja to establish the first press in Guatemala with printer José Piñeda Ibarra in 1660. Pérez Salazar *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial,* and Luis Luján Muñoz. *José de Piñeda Ibarra y la primera imprenta de Guatemala.* Guatemala: Editorial "José de Piñeda Ibarra," 1977, pp. 13-17

[63] Medina, relying on Andrade, lists a *Regulas de las Concepcionistas y Trinitarias*, (Medina *Puebla* 33) as being published in Puebla in 1653, although no copy appears to have survived. Andrade's citation (p. 795), lacking full description, suggests that he himself did not see a copy, but in any event, he does not cite a printer and only assumes publication in Puebla.

[64] Medina *México* 676.

[65] Hipólito de Ribera's acquisition of Robledo's materials can be confirmed by the bibliographical evidence, for example, the same woodblock coat of arms of the Inquisition can be found in Francisco Robledo's *Relación sumaria del auto particular de fe*, México: 1646, (Medina *México* 625), and in

virtual monopoly for most of the following decade. In 1649, Antonio Calderón de Benavides, Bernardo Calderón and Paula de Benavides' first born, succeeded Francisco Robledo as official printer to the Inquisition, a title that the family retained until the suppression of that institution in New Spain in 1812.[66]

CONCLUSION

This chapter has argued that the origin of printing in Puebla was driven in part by the tight control over the press in Mexico. At the same time it was also a concrete manifestation of the political philosophy that Palafox outlined in *Historia real sagrada*. Paula de Benavides' maintenance of the *cartilla* monopoly and her extension of it to include doctrinal works gave her sway over the all-important materials clerics required for ministering to their flocks. Benavides' expanded monopoly directly impinged on Palafox's efforts to promote the diocesan clergy and restrain the mendicants and figured in long-standing conflicts between the two.[67]

Both Francisco Robledo and Juan Blanco de Alcázar seem to have bet heavily on the success of their patron, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. By all appearances, the Inquisition prohibited Juan Blanco from printing under his own name following his arrest in 1629. Although Palafox restored him to his career, the viceroy ultimately ordered him silenced following Palafox's downfall. Francisco Robledo benefited from Palafox's patronage early on and, according to Pérez Salazar, gained the patronage of the Inquisition with his aid.[68] But as the Portuguese controversy continued, Palafox broke

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Hipólito de Ribera's *Auto público de fe, celebrado en la ciudad de Sevilla*. México: 1648, (Medina *México* 665).

[66] LOC, Hans P. Kraus Collection, Peti[ción] y Genealojía [sic] del Br. Antonio Calderón y Br. Diego Calderón su hermano, fol. 11r-12r.

[67] Although the viceroy silenced Juan Blanco, citing his licensing authority, books printed in Puebla by Juan de Borja Infante from 1654 forward were printed with the final licenses issued by the Ordinary, and a press began operating in Guatemala with similar licensing schemes in 1660.

[68] Pérez Salazar, *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial*, p. 245.

with the Inquisition over their plunder of the crypto-Jewish community, and it appears this resulted in a break with Robledo as well: the two 1644 texts were Robledo's last for the Bishop. By 1649, Palafox and the Tribunal were bitterly at odds, and the ensuing *visita* by Pedro de Medina Rico confirmed the corruption of the Holy Office that had led to their estrangement.[69] It is difficult to imagine Robledo's homecoming in Spain, at age 54, after spending 35 years in Mexico and the archives may one day reveal if he managed to retain or regain the Bishop's patronage and follow him to Osma.

Paula de Benavides, on the other hand, navigated this turbulent decade quite successfully. Her links to the largely peninsular regular clergy are clear, as illustrated by her family ties to the Franciscan and Jesuit orders and the conflict over the monopoly on *cartillas*. At the same time, her business association with Hipólito de Ribera, a third-generation creole bookseller, and her publication of diocesan clerics' works, notably Miguel Sánchez's *Imagen de la Virgen María* in 1648, not to mention those for Palafox, linked her to the creole and secular population. Moreover, in 1641, her sister Úrsula de Benavides married Juan de Vera, a member of the enormously wealthy family of the Treasurer of the Royal Mint.[70] In addition to connecting Paula de Benavides to a diverse social network, these multiple ties were also a sound business strategy that helped her achieve a near-monopoly for much of the decade following Palafox's departure. Until 1657, Paula de Benavides and Hipólito de Ribera's only competition in Mexico City was Juan Ruiz.

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[69] Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Great Visitas of the Mexican Holy Office 1645-1669." *The Americas* 44 (4) (April 1): 1988, pp. 399-420.

[70] México, Matrimonios, 1570-1950, index, FamilySearch (https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/JHPP-YS4 : accessed 14 Jun 2013), Juan De Vera and Uersula [sic] De Benavides, 04 Apr 1641.

Chapter 4: Consolidation of the Monopoly

> "In sum I can say that the art [of printing] is not only ingenious and noble, but also of public and private utility and thus due all honor and estimation."[1]

Beginning around 1650, following Palafox's departure and the silencing of the press in Puebla, the book trade in New Spain entered a period of relative stability that would endure for decades. Even after the reappearance of printing in Puebla de los Ángeles in 1654 and the end of Paula de Benavides' near monopoly in Mexico City in 1657, the types of conflicts that raged in the first half of the seventeenth century did not return until the 1720s, and even then they appeared under fundamentally changed circumstances and for profoundly different reasons. What accounts for this relative stability and how did the book trade function during this period? Previous chapters have argued that the Calderóns benefited from an extensive network that linked them to New Spain's civil and clerical elite and with Seville's most prominent book exporters. This chapter argues that from about 1650 onward, these local ties were renewed and extended, and that, thanks to the near monopoly Benavides enjoyed, an almost guild-like system emerged, one that regulated entry to the field and apportioned work among those active in the trade. It was only after the death of José Montero and thus the severing of direct family ties to Seville that local circumstances and trade practice began to change.

The first section of this chapter traces the life and career of Antonio Calderón de Benavides, Bernardo Calderón's first born, to suggest that his religious vocation and his broad membership in religious sodalities, either by design or by coincidence, served to

[1] Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1615, fol. 368r-v.

drive business to the family's press. The second section examines the Ribera family, active in the trade in New Spain no later than the 1580s and linked to Bernardo Calderón from his arrival in the late-1620s. With the 1647 marriage of Juan de Ribera and María de Benavides, Paula's daughter, the two families were formally joined, and, as María was the only heir who did not take up a religious vocation, the union provided a line of succession for the family business. After a brief discussion of the expansion of the family's enterprise in the 1650s-1660s, the chapter concludes with an analysis of some aspects of the guild-like system that emerged in the 1650s and the severing of family ties to Seville.

ANTONIO CALDERÓN DE BENAVIDES

Antonio Calderón de Benavides is the best documented of all members of the Calderón dynasty, owing to his renowned piety, generosity, and central role in the foundation in Mexico City of the Congregation of San Felipe Neri, a sodality for diocesan clerics.[2] His life history parallels the Calderóns' rise to prosperity and is suggestive of how they may have continued to flourish following his death. The two most reliable biographical sources are the notice of his death on 12 July 1668 in the *Diario de sucesos notables*, attributed to Antonio de Robles, and the hagiographic biography penned by his one-time almoner, the great Mexican savant, Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, appended to his *Piedad heroica de don Fernando Cortés*.[3] Robles wrote:

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[2] On the Congregation of San Felipe Neri, see Luis Ávila Blancas, C. O., *Bio-bibliografía de la Congregación del Oratorio de San Felipe Neri de la ciudad de México siglos XVII-XXI*. Santiago de Querétaro: Miguel Ferro, 2008, especially pp. 3-7. See also, Julián Gutiérrez Dávila's *Memorias históricas de la congregación de el Oratorio de la ciudad de México,* México: María de Ribera, 1736.

[3] Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, *Piedad heroica de don Fernando Cortés,* ed. Jaime Delgado, Madrid: J. Porrúa Turanzas, 1960. A different version of Sigüenza's manuscript was used to produce Julián Gutiérrez Dávila's *Memorias históricas de la congregación de el Oratorio de la ciudad de México,* México: María de Ribera, 1736. A third version of Sigüenza's manuscript is held by the University of Texas at Austin, Benson-MS García, Genaro. Sigüenza.

On the 12th died Br. Antonio Calderón Benavides, born in Mexico, one of the most singular clerics this archbishopric has seen. Beyond being very gallant, with a beautiful face and very rich, it was general opinion that he remained a virgin. From very young, he was extremely virtuous, and thus pledged to God to found the illustrious union of San Felipe Neri, as he was the prime force among the thirty-three clerics that created it. He was very attendant at San Bernardo and Balvanera [the original homes of the union] and nearly solely responsible for bringing it to the place it is today, a small oratorio that has served since the 26th of May of this present year [1668], since on San Felipe Neri's day the church that the union enjoys today was dedicated, almost all at the cost of this admirable child.

In his few years he managed to erect two temples and dedicate them to God, with the admiration of the entire city. A representative of the government of the Estate of del Valle named him as chaplain of the hospital of Our Lady; and it would be a long digression to refer to the love charity and care with which he exercised this charge, exceeding the obligations of the office.

He was a marvel, and because there are many in this house, Our Father wished to favor this cleric with the holy image of his falling under the weight of the cross, and *alcalde* don Juan Manuel de Sotomayor, being judge of the Estate of del Valle, brought this miraculous holy image of Jesus Nazarene to the hospital, and the devotion grew in such a way that, inspired by the alms and his holy devotion, this cleric determined to finish the church, whose construction had been halted for more than seventy years[.]

[A]fter [this] he set to the oratorio of San Felipe Neri, which he attended personally, and after it was finished, some few days later Our Father took him to himself with a strong fever [*tabardillo*] leaving all the city injured, as seen in his funeral, since from the windows there were wailing cries as though he was owner of each house, and the clerics could not sing mass. In the same way the Franciscans came out to receive his body, being the most remarkable thing seen in Mexico, but such was the extent of their loss.[4]

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[4] Robles. *Diario de sucesos notables*. 2nd ed. México: Editorial Porrúa, 1972, vol. I, pp. 57-59. Robles based his *Diario* on an earlier diary kept by Diego Calderón de Benavides, Antonio's brother, thus perhaps accounting for the florid description that appears in Robles' diary. See Lucas Alamán, *Obras de d. Lucas Alamán*, México: V. Agüeros, 1901, vol. IV, p. 515. The manuscript is currently at the National Library of Mexico, MS 1670. Of this diary, Alamán says that it is "short on important notices, and very prolix on those that offer no interest, such as who preached at each function, nuns who had died, and other insignificant things," and that Robles added and removed entries for his own text. To the best of my knowledge, this valuable source for the social history of Mexico City has yet to be consulted.

Although Robles' account focuses on Calderón's piety, Sigüenza's account touches almost equally on Antonio Calderón's involvement with the family's press. Sigüenza, in fact, linked the two, writing,

> Public sins notably afflicted him, and generally the offences made by those whom God had redeemed, and to avoid them, he saw no better means than to establish Congregations and Cofradías and to promote the divine Cult with public actions in which the sacraments are celebrated, and this saw all his desire and application in his life. To achieve this result, *rare was the devout paper that came to his hands that he didn't bring to light, at his cost and at his own press*, so that the faithful would not lack means to serve God, and without more interest than this (and this is quite great) *[he] gave them [freely] to all* [emphasis added].[5]

The cataloged output of the 1650s through the 1680s is relatively low, so unless these were brief ephemeral pieces that have not survived, one senses a bit of hyperbole in Sigüenza's account. However, it neatly connects spiritual devotion, printing and publication, and financial affairs.

Drawing on additional sources, it is possible to render a more accurate picture. Antonio Calderón de Benavides was born in June of 1630, and baptized on the 29th. Although Sigüenza credited him with assuming the helm of the family business following his father's death in 1640, at a mere nine years of age, we know that Pedro Quiñones returned to the printing office at this point, and it is more than likely that Antonio began or continued his training under this master printer. Two imprints bearing his name appeared in 1645, a university thesis by Francisco Hurtado y Arciniega, and a sermon by Bartolomé de Letona, perhaps his "graduation pieces," indicating that by this time, at age

[5] "Afligían le notablemente los pecados públicos, y generalmente las ofensas que a Dios le hacen sus redimidos, y para evitarlos no le parecía había medio más conveniente que establecer Congregaciones y Cofradías, y promover el Culto divino con acciones públicas en que se frecuentasen los Sacramentos, y a esto miró todo su afán y solicitud en que tuvo vida. Para conseguir esto mismo raro era el papel devoto que venía a sus manos que no sacase a luz y a su costa en su misma Imprenta para que no le faltasen medios a los fieles para servir a Dios y sin más interés que éste (y lo es bien grande) lo daba a todos." Sigüenza y Góngora, *Piedad heroica de don Fernando Cortés*, pp. 79-80.

fifteen, his apprenticeship was complete.[6] The Inquisition appointed him its official printer in 1649, in which year he produced Matías de Bocanegra's account of the *Auto de fe*.[7] Hipólito de Ribera, *corrector de libros* for the Inquisition, likely facilitated, at least in part, Antonio's nomination at age nineteen.

Calderón graduated from the University as *bachiller* of philosophy on 24 January 1650, of canon law on 18 June 1653, and of civil law on 24 June 1654. He later taught there on a number of occasions and was named its *consiliario* in 1653. The Inquisition later named him *comisario* and *consultor*. He entered the clergy in 1654, and celebrated his first mass on 10 January 1655 at the convent of Santa Isabel. According to Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, his brothers Diego and Gabriel, as deacon, and sub-deacon, respectively, assisted him at the altar. The mass was also the occasion of his sister Micaela's profession, as she took the name Micaela de Jesús and entered the convent of Santa Isabel where her uncle, Gabriel de Benavides, was custodian.[8] In 1655, he compiled his *méritos* and unsuccessfully sought a prebendary from the crown.[9]

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[6] Francisco Hurtado y Arceniega, *Licentiatus D. Franciscus Hurtado & Arceniega regalis curiæ causidicus. Pro doctorali iuriscesarei in fula obtinenda*, México: ex officina Viduæ Bernardi Calderón: Per Antonium Calderon, 1645, (Medina *México* 600), and Bartolomé de Letona *Sermón de N. P. S. Francisco predicado el domingo infraoctavo de su festividad Año 1645 en su convento de México en la fiesta solemne que le hizo el ilustrísimo Tribunal del Consulado, y Universidad de Mercaderes de la Nueva España*. México: Por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón en la Calle de S. Agustín Impreso por Antonio Calderón su hijo, 1645, (Medina *México* 601 and González de Cossio *510* 176) Letona's sermon appears, with some differences in description, in both Medina and González de Cossio, suggesting that the preliminaries and perhaps an entire separate edition were re-set. These two "graduation pieces" would be similar to the two works that appeared in Puebla in the same year with the imprint of Manuel de Olivos.

[7] LOC, Hans P. Kraus Collection, Peti[ción] y Genealojía [sic] del Br. Antonio Calderón y Br. Diego Calderón su hermano, fol. 11r. Matías de Bocanegra, *Auto general de la fe, celebrado por los Señores, el Ilmo. y Rmo. Señor Don Juan de Mañozca, Arzobispo de México, del Consejo de su Majestad, y de la S. General Inquisición, Visitador de su Tribunal en la Nueva-España*, México: Por Antonio Calderón, Impresor del Secreto del S. Oficio, en la calle de S. Agustín, 1649 (Medina *México* 680).

[8] Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas de la congregación de el Oratorio de la ciudad de México,* pp. 45-62. Gutiérrez Dávila also states that during this ceremony, Juan de Ribera and María de Benavides "recibi[eron] entonces, y en la propia Iglesia las bendiciones nupciales, de el casto matrimonio…" although they were married in 1647. Unless this was a ceremonial blessing of their union, one must take his account of Calderón's first mass with some caution.

[9] AGI Indiferente leg. 194, n. 39.

Illustration 7: Antonio Calderón de Benavides. From the original at the Oratorio de San Felipe Neri, Casa Profesa, Mexico City Mexico.

Gravely ill in 1657, Antonio Calderón vowed to form a confraternity modeled on the Oratorio of San Felipe Neri in Rome. The confraternity was founded in Mexico on 2 May 1659 at the convent of San Bernardo, and began with a strict limit of thirty-three members. Perhaps as an indication of Calderón's business acumen, the *cabildo* elected him treasurer. It soon moved to the convent of Balvanera, and petitions for entry were so numerous that the number of *cofrades* had to be elevated to 120. In order to obtain Papal sanction as a Congregation it was required to have a consecrated church and sufficient residences for at least twelve clerics. Lack of finances delayed this until May of 1668 and

the task was only completed as a result of Antonio Calderón's personal investment of 4,000 pesos. According to Sigüenza, this was the second church erected at Calderón's expense, the first being that of the *Hospital de Jesús*, where he had been chaplain since 22 March 1662.[10]

Again, according to Sigüenza, Calderón was the founder not only of the Congregation of San Felipe Neri, but also of a brotherhood in the Convent of San Francisco, for which he himself wrote the constitution, and the *Cofradía del Rosario,* also in the Convent of San Bernardo. He was member of the congregations of San Pedro, de la Purísima, and del Salvador and the *cofradías* of del Rosario, de la Cinta, de San Agustín, and a member of the Third Order of San Francisco. As Sigüenza y Góngora observed, "I abbreviate: rare is the Brotherhood or Congregation of the many that there are in Mexico in whose books and patents his name does not appear…"[11]

Antonio Calderón de Benavides died at 9:00 AM on 12 July 1668, just after his 38th birthday. Sigüenza recounts that upon hearing of his death, both the viceroy, Marqués de Mancera, and the Archbishop, Payo Enríquez de Rivera, arrived at his home to pay their respects even before they could be announced by their attendants.[12] He was

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[10] Julián Gutiérrez Dávila. *Memorias históricas de la congregación de el Oratorio de la ciudad de México,* México: María de Ribera, 1736, pp. 45-61. For the symbolism behind the numbers thirty-three, 120 and twelve, see Brian Larkin, "Liturgy, Devotion, and Religious Reform in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City." In: *The Americas*. Vol. 60, No. 4 (April 2004), pp. 493-518. Sigüenza y Góngora, *Piedad heroica de don Fernando Cortés*, p. 79.

[11] Sigüenza y Góngora, *Piedad heroica de don Fernando Cortés*, p. 78.

[12] Payo Enríquez de Rivera was closely tied to the Calderón family, a subject that must await further exploration at a later date. He was born in Seville, and became a member of the Augustinian order. He was appointed Bishop of Guatemala in 1657, and was responsible for introducing the printing press there in 1660. The printer, José Piñeda de Ibarra, had worked for both Paula de Benavides and Hipólito de Ribera in Mexico, and for Manuela Cerezo, widow of Juan de Borja y Gandía in Puebla. The previous archbishop of Mexico, Marcos Ramírez de Prado, had died on 11 May 1667. Enríquez de Rivera had been transferred to the bishopric of Michoacán and left Guatemala on 4 February 1668. In route to Mexico City, he received word of his election as archbishop on 3 May 1668 and arrived in Mexico on 27 June, just fifteen days prior to Antonio Calderón's death. Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables*, vol. 1, pp. 36, 57-58. Enríquez de Rivera donated 150 books from his library to the Oratorio prior to leaving Mexico in 1681. Gutiérrez Dávila, *Memorias históricas de la congregación de el Oratorio de la ciudad de México*, p. 28. There are conflicting

taken for burial to the chapel of the Third Order of San Francisco, and years later, when his body was disinterred, Sigüenza claimed it was found uncorrupted, a sign of sainthood.[13]

While acknowledging that Sigüenza's biography may tend towards exaggeration, two aspects deserve careful attention: Calderón's financial contributions, and his membership in religious sodalities. According to Sigüenza, Calderón gave alms freely, to all who asked, and distributed others anonymously. This was in addition to his contributions towards the construction of the churches for the Congregation of San Felipe Neri and the *Hospital de Jesús*. Such philanthropy suggests that within two decades of Bernardo Calderón's death, having left his wife and family in a fragile economic state, his son, Antonio, was in a position to distribute thousands of pesos. In addition, although Sigüenza credited Antonio Calderón with both earning and dispensing most of these funds, the family was able to provide a dowry of 3,214 pesos for María de Benavides when she married Juan de Ribera in 1647, as well as an unspecified dowry for Micaela de Jesús to enter the convent of Santa Isabel in 1655, to furnish a loan of 6,300 pesos to Juan de Ribera in 1668, and in the following year, to establish an endowment for Antonio's brother, Gabriel de Benavides, with principal in the amount of 2,000 pesos.

The foundation document for the endowment hints at Antonio Calderón's generosity, even profligacy, "understanding that the expenditures made by said *bachiller* [Antonio Calderón] have far exceeded that which would have come to him from his

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accounts of where he spent his final days, with some authors saying the convent of Nuestra Señora de Risco in Ávila, and others, the Augustinian Convent in Alcalá de Henares, dying either the 6th or 8th of April 1684. The convent at Ávila appears to be preferred, but in this regard it is important to recall that the Calderón family residence in Alcalá de Henares was, by 1684, an Augustinian convent. Diego de Ribera sang Enríquez de Rivera's eulogy, a performance that Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz praised in one of her sonnets, and it was later published by Paula de Benavides.

[13] Sigüenza y Góngora, *Piedad heroica de don Fernando Cortés*, p. 81.

maternal and paternal inheritance…"[14] Unfortunately, no source gives a clear account of the family's financial position in 1668, but at the time of Paula de Benavides' death in 1684, her estate was valued at just under 40,000 pesos.[15] While not equal to some of the large fortunes amassed by Mexico's great merchant families, the family was still very well off, perhaps even wealthy, to use Louisa Schell Hoberman's categories.[16]

With the exception of Sigüenza's mention of some "*trastes,"* perhaps Chinese porcelains, left as a part of Bernardo Calderón's estate, there is little indication that the family had diversified their business beyond printing and book imports. However, on 11 March 1660, Antonio Calderón gave his *poder* to Diego de Palencia, Tomás García de Cárdenas, and Cap. Marcos Pestaña of Manila to conduct business there on his behalf. Although he also served as treasurer for the Oratorio of San Felipe Neri at this point, the language of the document, with no mention of the Union, makes it clear that Antonio granted the *poder* in his name, and it was not related to the business of the Oratorio. It is a *poder general*, in other words, one that covered all possibilities: collecting debts and receiving merchandise in Manila, receiving merchandise and cash sent from Mexico, remitting goods purchased in Manila to Mexico and prosecuting or responding to all legal actions as though the grantees were Calderón himself.[17]

Calderón had distant relatives in the Philippines, though they were not mentioned in the *poder*, and no further documents related to his business dealings there have come

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[14] AGNot Esc. 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 762, fol. 203v-209v; Esc. 379, Baltasar Morante, vol. 2500, fol. 74r-80r.

[15] AGNot Esc. 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 763, fol. 222v-225r (14 December 1687); fol. 106v-107r (20 April 1688).

[16] Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite,* p. 225.

[17] AGNot Esc. 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4604, fol. 137r-138r. For a modern study of notarial instruments with a particular focus on *cartas de poder*, see Ivonne Mijares Ramírez. *Escribanos y escrituras públicas en el siglo XVI. El caso de la ciudad de México*. México: UNAM, 1997, especially pp. 192-197. For a modern edition of a comprehensive notarial manual originally published in Mexico in 1605, with preliminary study and commentary, see Nicolás de Yrolo Calar. *La política de escrituras*. María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano, coord. México: UNAM, 1996, especially pp. 44-46.

to light. Although this may have reflected a diversification of the family's business interests, it is also reasonable to assume that the *poder* was related to the book trade. Decades later, for example, when Juan José Guillena Carrascoso registered his testament he mentioned a *cajón de libros* that he possessed in the Philippines.[18]

While perhaps not consciously self-interested, in terms of the family's business, Antonio Calderón's widely ecumenical membership in religious sodalities—including Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and secular—did bring business to the family. Congregations and *cofradías*, literally, religious brotherhoods, were essentially mutual aid societies whose memberships frequently coincided with guild organizations or social groupings. For example, the tailors participated in the *cofradía* of Saint Homobonus, while the silversmiths in that of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*. On the other end of the spectrum, the Congregation of San Pedro was an elite social club, that counted among its members virtually every viceroy and archbishop of Mexico.[19]

In return for alms given upon entry, and monthly thereafter, member of *cofradías* were entitled to various papal indulgences, care from a priest during illness, burial assistance and a prescribed number of masses upon their death. But these ostensibly religious groupings brought with them social and economic implications as well. As Alicia Bazarte Martínez notes,

> In effect, the Spanish *cofradía* was a select association where wealthy Spanish and creole families in New Spain wove matrimonial alliances, of biological or political kinship…established political accords and business relationships, amplifying and diversifying their family strategies for the reproduction of their

[18] AGNot Esc. 13, José Bonilla y Anaya, vol. 63, fol. 655r-658r (8 November 1704). Two of the grantees of Calderón's *poder*, Palencia and García de Cárdenas, were closely associated with the Hospital de la Santa Misericordia in Manila, once a Franciscan hospital, but turned over to the Brothers of St. John of God in 1659. The Brothers of St. John of God followed the rule of St. Agustine. Perhaps not coincidentally, St. John of God is the patron saint of booksellers, and St. Agustine the patron saint of printers. Much work remains to be done on Mexican booksellers' and printers' relationships with the Philippines.

[19] AHSS, Fondo Congregación de San Pedro, Libro 1, Libro de registro de los cofrades.

> capital, especially among the creole oligarchy linked to the ownership of land or mines, and groups of Spanish merchants who possessed capital. Thus, these institutions were key pieces in the formation of economically powerful groups, much beyond simple family groupings, and in the creation of networks of connection and influence with the circles of political power in New Spain.
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> In sum, *cofradías* notably contributed to the cohesion of a dominant bloc unifying the interests of rich peninsular merchants, the upper viceregal administration and the creole oligarchy.[20]

Calderón's broad membership in congregations and *cofradías* and his prominent role in a number of them closely linked him and thus the family business to the social and economic elite of New Spain, which in turn benefitted the family business.

One example of how the family profited is that, with extremely few exceptions, between 1650 and 1720, the Calderóns produced virtually all of the extant *Sumarios de indulgencias*, pamphlets given to each member of a *cofradía* upon joining, outlining their privileges and obligations. In addition to these ephemeral pieces, there were others. Between 1657 and 1674, the account book for the Franciscan convent contains eleven entries for fifty pesos each for the printing of annual calendars; additional entries for "*conclusiones*," or academic pieces, at ten pesos each; and assorted other printing jobs, including fifteen pesos to Paula de Benavides for patents, and 112 pesos to "Lic. Calderón" for a *Carta pastoral*.[21] With only three presses in operation, those of the Calderóns, Rodríguez Lupercio, and Juan Ruiz, the Calderóns' close ties to the Franciscans, and their being the only named printers among the accounts, it is not unreasonable to suggest that they produced the annual calendars as well. In a similar fashion, various receipts from the Congregation of San Pedro show multiple orders for

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[20] Alicia Bazarte Martínez. *Las cofradías de españoles en la ciudad de México (1526-1860)*. México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 1989, p. 16.

[21] AHCM, Convento de San Francisco, Contabilidad, 1655-1676.

"edicts," occasionally mentioning the printers from whom they were ordered, most frequently the Calderóns.[22]

Following Antonio Calderón's death, his brother, Diego, assumed the position of *capellán* to the Hospital and some responsibilities for administering the press. It is not unlikely that he followed Antonio's model of wide membership in religious sodalities as well.[23] He was, at the least, a member of the *Congregación del Oratorio* and the *Congregación de San Pedro*. With his brothers Gabriel, also a secular cleric, and Bernardo, a Franciscan, the Calderóns were well connected to the clerical establishment that authored and purchased the majority of the publications of the period. Broad membership in religious sodalities drew business to the press, and the profits from those commissions allowed the family to distribute alms and thus bestow patronage, as in Antonio Calderón's erection of the chapels of the Oratorio and the *Hospital de Jesús*. As Sigüenza noted, free printing and distribution of pious publications was another manifestation of alms-giving and bestowing patronage, all of which helped to enhance the family's social and financial capital and the prestige of the family's enterprise.

THE RIBERAS

The Ribera family was intertwined with the Calderóns from Bernardo Calderón's arrival in Mexico in the 1620s. Although some historians have dismissed Hipólito de Ribera as an inconsequential figure, from the preceding chapter it should be clear that he played a very important role.[24] With the close relations between Hipólito and Paula de Benavides,

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[22] See, for example, AHSS, Fondo Congregación de San Pedro, Legajo 31, exp. 39, 1665, fol. 1r-2v. As this reference makes clear, these works were not done in exchange for monthly dues payments.
[23] See, for example, AHSS, Fondo Congregación de San Pedro, Legajo, 36, exp. 9, 1685-1686, fol. 6v-7r.
[24] A. A. M. Stols, *La introducción de la imprenta en Guatemala; ensayo publicado en conmemoración del 3. centenario 1660-1960*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1960, p. 21; Ernesto de la Torre Villar, *Breve historia del libro en México*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990, p. 140.

it may appear odd that the two did not marry following Bernardo Calderón's death. Such a union would have been convenient, and typical of the trade and the time, recalling that her mother-in-law, Agustina Calderón in Seville, thrice married into the book trade, the last time to a man just three years older than her son. However Benavides' and Ribera's matrimony would likely have brought the Calderón business under Hipólito de Ribera's control.[25] Since the two had an existing professional relationship, there was no practical need on Paula's side to wed Ribera, who instead married Ana de Susilla in June of 1643. Rather, the Ribera and Calderón families were formally linked in 1647, with the marriage of Hipólito's brother, Juan de Ribera, and Paula de Benavides' daughter, María, and their union resulted in a continuance of the family line into the nineteenth century.

Hipólito and Juan de Ribera descended from two generations of booksellers long established in Mexico. Their grandfather, Pablo de Ribera, was born in Jerez de la Frontera, but had settled in Mexico no later than 1581.[26] His travel documents have not survived, although his sister, Elvira, appears on a passenger manifest for the fleet headed to New Spain in 1570.[27] Pablo may have already established himself in Mexico by that date as well, as it would have been unlikely that Elvira, listed as single on the manifest, would have traveled to New Spain without family or other relations to receive her.

In 1582 Pablo took delivery of a shipment of seven boxes of books from Diego Mexía of Seville. The Mexías were among Seville's most prominent book exporters at the time, and had a network that stretched throughout Spain, to France and the Low

[25] By law, Benavides would have retained ownership of the business, inherited from her husband, though Ribera would likely have exercised control. See, Socolow. *The Women of Colonial Latin America*. p. 9.
[26] Ramón Mena, "El librero Pedro Bally en la Inquisición (1581)," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* [México], Primera Serie, tomo IV, no. 1 (enero-febrero), 1933, pp. 71-73.
[27] AGI, Contratación, 5537, L.3, fol. 411v.

Countries.[28] He received another valued at 447 pesos, 6 *reales* in 1584, this time from Alonso and Gabriel Montero de Espinosa.[29] There are records of others from Alonso de Mendoza, two boxes in 1583, and two freights of eight and twelve boxes from Diego Mexía in 1597, and later some very substantial deliveries from the Mexías in 1602 (1,054 pesos), 1603 (1,643 pesos, 6 *reales*) and 1606 (1,419 pesos).[30] Ribera was a trusted partner of the Mexías; in February of 1592, he and notary Diego Navarro Maldonado, also involved in the book trade, were jointly authorized to collect debts owed to them in New Spain.[31]

As a measure of how incestuous the book trade was at the time, Gabriel Montero de Espinosa, who sent the shipment in 1584, was married to Juanita Sansorel, whose family was also involved in the book trade; and her sister, María Sansorel, was, in turn, married to Pedro Ocharte, Mexico's third printer, active from 1563-1592. These links suggest good relations, perhaps even collaboration or division of labor between bookseller Ribera and printer Ocharte.

Pablo de Ribera was by no means the only bookseller active in Mexico at the time, but judging by the shipments of 1602-1603, and 1606, and his relationship with Navarro Maldonado and the Mexías, he appears to have been fairly prominent. His arrival in Mexico, perhaps as early as 1570, came quite soon after the Cromberger

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[28] Pedro Rueda Ramírez, "Los libreros Mexía en el comercio de libros con América en los últimos años del reinado de Felipe II," in: *Felipe II (1527-1598): Europa y la monarquía católica,* ed. José Martínez Millán, Madrid: Editorial Parteluz, 1998. Vol. 4, pp. 477-496.

[29] AGNot, Esc. 497, Juan Pérez de Rivera, vol. 3352, fol. 497r-500r.

[30] Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros,* p. 397, 436-437. Rueda, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, pp. 481-487. No Alonso de Mendoza appears in Mailliard's prosopography of the book trade in Seville, 1550-1600, however Álvarez Márquez notes a transaction between Alonso de Mendoza, mercader de paños, and bookseller Jácome López on 7 March 1583 in the amount of 9,222 *reales* for books to be sent to the Indies. María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, *La impresión y el comercio de libros en la Sevilla del quinientos*, Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007, p. 119, 251. The shipment was only one of four that Mendoza sent on that fleet.

[31] Maillard, "La circulación del libro en Sevilla y sus profesionales", p. 756.

monopoly ended. In 1539, when Juan Pablos established the Cromberger firm in Mexico, the Seville printer had obtained monopoly privileges that included not only printing but also exports of books to Mexico.[32] At the behest of Antonio Espinosa and others, the ended the monopoly in 1558 and it was only at that point that others would have been legally permitted to establish themselves as booksellers in Mexico.

In 1581, printer and bookseller Pedro Balli presented testimony to the Inquisition of those who had received shipments of books and the *Mercaderes de Libros* who were most active in Mexico over the preceding twelve years. In it he stated that a Diego de San Román was operating in Mexico as early as 1557, before Pablos' monopoly ceased.[33] The distinction Balli made between "those who had received shipments" and "*Mercaderes de Libros*" is not entirely clear, and, other than himself and Diego Navarro Maldonado, none of the "receivers" he named appear otherwise directly related to the book trade.

Natalia Maillard's study of the Seville book trade in the sixteenth century identifies Diego Agúndez and Gabriel and Gregorio Mancilla as either factors or super-cargos handling a variety of merchandise including books, and Diego de San Román dealt in wine and mercury as well as books.[34] Of the ten Balli mentioned, only he himself was also a printer, although Pedro Ocharte and Antonio Espinosa were both active at the time. Possibly, Balli's distinction was between generalists and specialists, wholesalers who would go on to create the *Consulado del Comercio* in 1592 on the one hand, and

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[32] Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografia mexicana del siglo XVI*, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo, México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954, pp. 45-46.
[33] Ramón Mena, "El librero Pedro Balli en la Inquisición, 1581," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* [México], Primera Serie, tomo IV, no. 1 (enero-febrero), 1933, pp. 71-73.
[34] Maillard, *La circulación del libro en Sevilla y sus profesionales*, p. 603.

those who restricted their commerce to the book trade, "*Mercaderes de Libros,*" on the other.[35]

Diego de San Román	
Diego Navarro Maldonado	
Diego Agúndez	
Gabriel de Mancilla	
Gregorio de Mancilla	
Antonio de Armijo	
Pedro Balli	Mercader de Libros
Juan de Treviño	Mercader de Libros
Alonso Losa	Mercader de Libros
Pablo de Ribera	Mercader de Libros

Table 6: Members of the book trade, 1581

Pablo de Ribera was married to Inés Arsiniegas of the Minas de Temascaltepec, outside of Mexico City, according to a *probanza de limpieza de sangre* produced in January 1592.[36] There is no clear indication as to what generated this document, but with the foundation of the *Consulado* in that year, it is possible that Ribera sought membership in that body.[37] Although first explored in the 1530s, it was not until the discovery of silver in 1556 that the settlement of Temascaltepec began. The secular clergy established the first parish in 1565, and in 1569 there were only 55 denizens.[38] A century later, in 1671, when Pablo de Ribera's grandson, Juan de Ribera, sought to become a Familiar of the Inquisition, the earliest baptismal records found dated to only 1570, with no mention

[35] On the Consulado del Comercio, see, Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert. "From Agents to Consulado: Commercial Networks in Colonial Mexico, 1520-1590 and Beyond." In: *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 57:1 (2000:enero-jun.), pp. 41-68, and C. Norman Guice. "The Consulado of New Spain, 1594-1795". Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1952.

[36] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 287, exp. 5, fol. 2r-3r. On the early history of Temascaltepec, see Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 270.

[37] Documents from 1607 and 1608 indicate that Ribera also dealt in wax, and perhaps he trafficked in other merchandise as well. AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 3044, exp. 036 and caja 3155, exp. 021.

[38] Alfredo Borboa Reyes, *Temascaltepec: monografía municipal,* Toluca : Gobierno del Estado de México, 1993, p. 145.

of Inés Arsiniegas, a fact that delayed his application for over a decade and remained unresolved at the time of his death in 1685.[39] Another document dated 9 September 1628 put Ribera's son Diego's age at forty-six, suggesting his birth occurred no later than 1582.[40] His mother, Inés Arsiniegas, was thus certainly born prior to 1570 and would not have appeared in the baptismal records of Temascaltepec.

Pablo de Ribera had at least three sons, Diego, Hipólito, and Juan. Little has been recovered regarding the latter two, but Diego de Ribera continued the business. In 1615 he rented shop number twenty-six in the Alcaicería at a price of 170 pesos per year. Serving as his witness was bookseller Pedro Arias, who also rented a shop, number thirteen, for 190 pesos, and for whom Ribera served as witness.[41] Diego served as *corrector de libros* for the Inquisition, thus he was authorized to conduct post-publication censorship following the guidelines of the Index, *cartas acordadas*, and Inquisition edicts, but was not a *calificador,* a pre-publication censor.[42] He continued in commerce with Seville, receiving shipments in 1621, 1624 and 1625.[43]

Diego de Ribera married Juana Venegas, whose father and maternal grandfather were Familiares of the Inquisition. In addition to Hipólito and Juan, his large family of eleven children included María, Josefa, Melchora, Diego, Pablo, Mariana, Inés, Mayor and Cecilia. The family was not particularly well off. Diego de Ribera received a modest 900 pesos as part of his wife's dowry, along with houses on the Calle Tacuba, which his

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[39] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 287, exp. 5

[40] AGN, Matrimonios, vol. 28, exp. 58, not foliated.

[41] The Alcaicería, once Cortés' palace, is today the National Monte Piedad, occupying the southern half of the block just west of the Cathedral. AGNot, Esc 628, Alonso Hidalgo Santillán, vol. 4357, fol. 57r-v, 59r-v.

[42] On the role of the *calificadores* see Martin Austin Nesvig. *Ideology and Inquisition: The World of the Censors in Early Mexico*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

[43] Rueda. *Negocio e intercambio cultural*. pp. 496-497.

descendants sold for the low price of 800 pesos following her death around 1654.[44] Although perhaps not wealthy, from the evidence of his trade with Seville he was clearly competent and trusted with financial affairs. His nomination to be executor of the estates of Alonso Hernández Ponas, *alférez* of San Miguel, and Luisa de Saavedra, in 1614 and 1617, respectively, provides further evidence of the confidence he enjoyed.[45] While he had earlier rented premises in the Alcaicería, by 1617 he appears to have owned them, in light of a rental contract for a property adjoining his own, done with the tailor Alonso Vásquez on 1 September 1617. The rental was for a four-year term at a price of 150 pesos per year.[46]

	Shipper	Receiver	Value
1602	Mexía, Diego	Ribera, Pablo	1,054 pesos
1603	Mexía, Diego	Ribera, Pablo	1,560 pesos, 2 *reales*
1606	Mexía, Fernando	Ribera, Pablo	1,935 pesos, 2 *reales*
1621	Toro, Antonio de	Clarín, Francisco	537 pesos, 4 *reales*
1621	Vertiz, Juan de	Ribera, Diego	1481 pesos, 2 *reales*
1625	Toro, Antonio de	Clarín, Francisco	600 pesos
1625	Vertiz, Juan de	Ribera, Diego	350 pesos

Table 7: Shipments to Pablo and Diego de Ribera, and Francisco Clarín

Following Diego de Ribera's death in 1636, Hipólito de Ribera continued in business with Seville book merchants and in association with the Calderón family. Like the *poder* the Mexías jointly granted to his grandfather, Pablo, and notary Diego Navarro Maldonado, in February 1641, Seville booksellers Antonio de Toro and Juan López Ramón granted a joint *poder* to Bernardo Calderón and Hipólito de Ribera, along with one Jacinto de Ávila. They were clearly unaware that Calderón had died two months

[44] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 287, exp. 5, fol. 127r-128v.
[45] AGNot, Esc. 498, Juan de Porras Farfán, vol. 3364, not foliated, (17 October 1614); vol. 3365, fol. 4r, (17 August 1617).
[46] AGNot, Esc. 628, Alonso Hidalgo Santillán, vol. 4357, fol. 321r.

earlier, thus this was followed by their joint *poder* issued to Paula de Benavides and Hipólito de Ribera and the Jesuit *Procurador*, Alonso de Rojas, on 27 September 1645.[47] Hipólito also had ties to Seville through the Bellero family, who had a printing office in Antwerp and were booksellers in Seville and Mexico and with whom Bernardo Calderón was also commercially tied. In 1649, for example, Hipólito settled the estate in Mexico of bookseller Juan Bellero, remitting the funds to Seville with Calderón's stepfather, José Montero, who had come to New Spain to deliver sixteen boxes of books sent by López Ramón.[48]

It is possible that relations between Hipólito and his brother Juan had begun to sour in the 1650s. There were, at the least, financial conflicts between the two. Juana Venegas, widow of Diego and mother of Hipólito and Juan de Ribera, died in early 1654, and Hipólito acted as her executor. The estate was not worth much, being only "the few properties left by his mother…that are no more than some houses in the Alcaicería of this city and that only reach the value of the many *censos* on them." Hipólito rented out these properties in November 1658 for 120 pesos per year. Nevertheless, and despite the fact that Hipólito had obligated himself to the substantial sum of 1,500 pesos to purchase the library of Lic. Mateo de Cisneros in 1654, by April 1658 he still had not settled the inheritance claims of his two brothers. Diego and Juan sought legal recourse to force the distribution of the estate. Diego received the equivalent of 350 pesos, but he acknowledged that he had received 300 pesos over the course of the previous twenty

[47] Rojas was a central figure in Palafox's disputes with the Jesuits. See: Zambrano, *Diccionario bio-bibliografico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*. Vol. 12, pp. 678-690.
[48] AHPS, Off. 19, Alonso Alarcón, vol. 12871, fol. 533r-v; vol. 12893, fol. 132r-133v; vol. 12914, fol. 565r-569r.

years and as a result he received only fifty pesos in specie. Juan's share of the estate, or rather, the reduced value of the estate settled upon, was 300 pesos.[49]

There were other lingering debts between the two brothers, however. A year earlier, in 1657, Rodrigo Alonso Mota, a blind man from Puebla de los Ángeles, prosecuted Juan de Ribera for a long-overdue debt of 450 pesos. Juan had guaranteed the loan by way of a mortgage on houses he owned, and Mota sent an agent to Mexico City to collect. Hipólito paid off the mortgage, effectively transferring Juan's debt to himself, while Juan promised to pay the remaining 150 pesos in two installments over the next two years. As a result of Juan's demand for his inheritance the following year, Hipólito cancelled the 300 pesos debt that Juan owed him.[50]

While the suit over their inheritance may indicate strained relations among the brothers, it is clear that Juan de Ribera assumed Hipólito's business interests following his brother's death that occurred some time between 3 February and 5 April 1659.[51] It is by no means clear how this came about, since Hipólito's widow and five minor children were all legally entitled to inherit his estate. However, on 2 December 1659, Juan de Ribera appeared before the Inquisition to collect 800 pesos due for a shipment of books initially ordered from his brother Hipólito. This was part of a larger consignment valued at 1,578 pesos that Hipólito de Ribera had purchased from María de Urbina of Seville, widow of José Bellero. José Montero had taken the books to New Spain, and Hipólito de Ribera still owed 300 pesos of the total to Urbina. When Juan de Ribera appeared to ask

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[49] "los pocos bienes que quedaron de la dicha su madre y que no son mas de unas casas que son en el alcaicería de esta ciudad y que apenas alcanza su valor a los muchos censos que tienen." AGNot, Esc. 336, Gabriel López Ahedo, vol. 2233, fol. 19r-21r (8 April 1658); fol. 70r-v, (22 November 1658).

[50] AGNot, Esc. 336, Gabriel López Ahedo, vol. 2232, fol. 49r-53v (3 September 1657); vol. 2233, fol. 19r-21r (8 April 1658).

[51] Hipólito de Ribera registered his testament with Gabriel López Ahedo on 3 February 1659 as referenced in AGNot Esc. 687 Fernando Veedor, vol. 4603, fol. 144v, (5 April 1659). The latter document is for the sale of a slave by his widow. Sadly, López Ahedo's register for 1659 has not survived.

for the 800 pesos the Inquisition owed to Hipólito, the inquisitors instead offered Juan de Ribera only 300 pesos, which he refused to accept. He held his ground, and insisted on the full 800 pesos, which the Inquisitors promptly paid.[52]

Further evidence that Juan took over Hipólito's business comes from inventories submitted to the Inquisition. In 1655, Juan presented an inventory to the Inquisition that listed a mere 72 titles, while by 1660 his stock had risen to 706. César Manrique Figueroa's analysis of Juan de Ribera's 1660 inventory and Hipólito's of 1655, finds a number of rare titles common to both lists, confirming that Juan had come into possession of Hipólito's stock.[53]

At her marriage with Juan de Ribera, María de Benavides brought with her 3,214 pesos in dowry, a fairly substantial sum.[54] The following year, he left the family home to open his own bookstore, renting a house on the Calle San Agustín at a price of 150 pesos per year.[55] As one index of how his business prospered, in 1681, shortly before his death, he purchased at auction some additional urban properties in the "*tiangues* de San Juan," at the corner of the Calle Real and Calle Mesones (today the corner of Vizcaínas and the Eje Central, Avenida Lázaro Cárdenas), and he took on a 3,000 peso loan to have them completely refurbished as residential and commercial properties.[56]

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[52] AGN Inquisición, vol. 458, exp. 1, fol. 1-6; AHPS vol. 12957, fol. 126r-v; and vol. 12958, fol. 669r-v.
[53] César Manrique Figueroa, "Cultural Trade Between the Southern Netherlands and New Spain." Ph.D. dissertation. KU Leuven: 2012, p. 335.
[54] AGNot Esc. 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 762, fol. 203v-209v. Socolow provides examples of nun's dowries from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, stating that the typical nun's dowry in the sixteenth century was between 1,000 and 2,000 pesos, by the end of the seventeenth century, 3,000, and by the eighteenth, 4,000. She adds, "While these dowries represented substantial sums, they were usually less than the dowry needed to marry a daughter to a socially acceptable husband." See: *Women of Colonial Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 95-96. For contrasting figures, see Hoberman. *Mexico's Merchant Elite*. pp. 64-68, in which she found that two-thirds of the commercial elite men in her study received dowries of 20,000 pesos or more.
[55] AGNot Esc. 336, Gabriel López Ahedo, vol. 2228, fol. 4v.
[56] AGN Bienes Nacionales, vol. 605, exp. 44, not foliated.

The union between Juan and María was a fruitful one, resulting in nine children. All of María's siblings had entered the clergy or the convent; under a legal regime that required, with few exceptions, partible inheritance, this was a common family strategy for keeping estates relatively intact. Her own offspring, however, had more diverse life courses. Four of her six sons—José, Gabriel, Antonio, and Juan—entered the clergy. Antonio and Juan were members of the Mercedarian Order, while Gabriel and Joseph were diocesan clerics.[57] José served as notary and *consiliario* for the Inquisition, and Chaplain of the Convent of San Gerónimo. María de Benavides' three daughters, Francisca, Paula and María, rather than enter the convent, chose married life. Francisca married Pedro Maldonado, master carpenter (*ensamblador*). Paula married Andrés del Rio, master barber, and brought with her a dowry valued at 2,958 pesos.[58] María de Ribera, not to be confused with the well known printer from a later generation, married royal notary Martín del Rio, Andrés' brother. Following his death, which occurred between 8 January and 12 April 1697, she immediately married the Inquisition notary, Galician-born Benito Núñez del Rumbo, who had arrived from Spain five years earlier.[59]

By the time of their marriage on 9 June 1697, direct family ties with the continent had come to an end, but this renewed link to peninsular Spain was a mutually beneficial one, bringing enhanced social status for the bride and integration into the creole community for the groom.[60] While four of her sons embarked on clerical careers, the

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[57] The Veras were one of 100 patrons for the construction of the church at the Mercedarian convent, pledging 1,000 pesos in 1634. INAH, Papeles Sueltos (Segunda Serie), caja 13, leg. 66-2, fol. 1r-v. AGNot Esc. 563, Martín del Rio, vol. 3886, fol. 480r-481v.

[58] AGNot Esc. 13, José Bonilla y Anaya, vol. 56, fol. 94r-96r; Esc. 564, Nicolás Rodríguez Guzmán, vol. 3894, fol. 403r-405r (8 January 1697); Esc. 254, Juan Clemente Guerrero, vol. 1657, not foliated, (18 September 1703).

[59] AGNot Esc. 564, Nicolás Rodríguez Guzmán, vol. 3894, fol. 403r-405r (8 January 1697); Esc. 254, Juan Clemente Guerrero, vol. 1657, not foliated, (18 September 1703). AGI Contratación, legajo 5454, n. 3, r. 117.

[60] Such a quick remarriage may have raised some eyebrows, see: Socolow. *The Women of Colonial Latin America*. p. 12.

remaining two took over the family business. The youngest son, Francisco, at the head of the press and bookshop on Calle San Agustín, which continued in operation following his death, under his widow and heirs, until 1750. Following María de Benavides' death, her son Miguel continued the printing office and shop on the Empedradillo, which he had jointly founded with his father Juan in 1677, and his descendants continued the business into the nineteenth century.

EXPANSION OF THE FAMILY ENTERPRISE

With a virtual monopoly from 1649 to 1657, it should not be surprising that the Calderóns began to expand, renewing their press and type, adding an apprentice and expanding their warehouse space. Save for the materials that arrived with Juan Pablos from the Cromberger firm in 1539, and for the press built around 1600 by Cornelio Adrián César, the origins of the others in operation in Mexico remain largely undocumented. Early printers did everything, including press building and type founding, but these aspects of the trade quickly became the province of specialists in Europe.

That said, these activities were practiced in New Spain throughout the viceregal period, though in significantly diminished fashion during the seventeenth century. For example, we know that Antonio de Espinoza, second printer in Mexico, was a punch cutter, specifically brought to Mexico for that task. Likewise, Pedro Ocharte's employee, Juan Ortiz, had matrices for casting type among his possessions when he was arrested by the Inquisition in 1572. Finally, Inquisition testimony shows that Enrico Martínez was cutting and casting the type for the press being constructed by Cornelio Adrián Cesar.[61]

There is no evidence that the Calderón printing office included a type foundry, at least based on an inventory from 1687, discussed in the next chapter. Much to the

[61] Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. I, pp. LXXV-LXXXI; AGN Indiferente Virreinal, caja 5583, fol. 3v; Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros*, p. 561.

contrary, in 1657, Antonio Calderón de Benavides contracted with Juan de Manurga of Cádiz to deliver a press and type from Flanders. The contract stipulated that Manurga should deliver it within three years, by 26 January 1660, and Calderón promised to pay the full price struck in Flanders plus a 100% premium, in addition to all land and sea transportation costs from Flanders to Veracruz.[62] Reviewing their book produced both before and after 1660 makes it abundantly clear that the materials had arrived and were put into use, though the final *carta de pago* has yet to emerge from the archive. In March of 1659, however, Paula de Benavides and Antonio Calderón jointly contracted an obligation of 1,000 pesos to Urbino Martínez that may have been related to the purchase.[63] The guarantee against default, the *hipoteca*, was placed on three of their slaves: Juan, *criollo* aged 25, Sebastián, Angolan, aged over 30, and Mariana, Angolan, aged 30, but first on the printing house, perhaps indicating the arrival of the new equipment.[64]

In addition to renewing their press and types, the Calderón enterprise expanded in other ways as well. Antonio Calderón's 1660 *poder* to conduct business in the Philippines

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[62] AGNot Esc. 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4601, fol. 16v-17v (6 January 1658).

[63] AGNot Esc. 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4603, fol. 113r (13 March 1659). Urbano Martínez was a familiar of the Holy Office and *Depositario de Pruebas* for the Inquisition and for the Cofradía de San Pedro Mártir, the Inquisition brotherhood. Hipólito de Ribera, jointly with his wife Ana de Susilla, likewise took a loan for 1,080 pesos from Martínez on 29 May 1658. AGNot Esc. 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4602, fol. 197r-v.

[64] The timing here is significant, recalling Antonio de Calderón's March 1660 *poder* to conduct business in the Philippines, and the opening of a printing house in Guatemala thanks to the efforts of Payo Enríquez de Ribera in the same year. What became of the press and type that were decommissioned after the arrival of new materials from Flanders? Were they sent to Manila or Guatemala? Very little is known of relations between Mexican printers and booksellers and the Philippines, and the precise source of the first Guatemalan press remains unknown, but the most likely source was the Real Colegio de San Luís in Puebla that produced only one imprint in 1657. The printer who operated the first Guatemalan press, José de Piñeda Ibarra, had worked for both Hipólito de Ribera and Paula de Benavides in Mexico. See Stols. *La introducción de la imprenta en Guatemala*, David Vela, *La imprenta en la colonia*. Guatemala: Ed. Del Ministerio de Educación Publica, "José de Piñeda Ibarra," 1960, and Luís Luján Muñoz, *José de Piñeda Ibarra y la primera imprenta de Guatemala*. Guatemala: Ed. "José de Piñeda Ibarra," Ministerio de Educación, 1977.

has already been mentioned, but it was also at this juncture, on 10 June 1660, that Paula de Benavides took on the thirteen-year-old orphan, "*muchacho mestizo*" Juan de Dios, as an apprentice. He was the son of Antonia Velázquez, *mestiza*, and was bound to learn the trades of "*tirador y batidor*," a pressman pulling the bar and a "beater" inking the type. The term was to have lasted for five years, with Benavides promising to instruct him in Christian doctrine and to provide,

> …food and clothing, and to look after him during his illnesses as long as they don't pass fifteen days and at the end of the said time, a suit of clothes of locally made cloth, underwear, cape, cloak, hose, shoes, two Walloon shirts, and in their absence 30 pesos for their purchase, and of the office all that a craftsman needs to know to work where he wants and lacking that he can finish learning with another printer.

In the latter case, Paula de Benavides agreed to pay him the wages of a journeyman.[65] A later memo by the notary indicates the contract's cancelation in 1663, but provides no reason. As this is one of only three apprenticeship contracts for a printing office that I have found for the seventeenth century, it may be something of an anomalous case. The contract bound Dios to Paula de Benavides. Had he sought to break the contract, to move to another master or out of the city, his guardian, *procurador* Nicolas de Mendieta, would have initiated the proceedings and the notary would have indicated the location of the documents in the addendum. Had he died, likewise, the notary would have more than likely begun his annotation "*Por la muerte de…*" Neither appears in the annotation. Other apprentices may have been taken on during the seventeenth century, without formal contracts, but this one appears to have been drawn up in anticipation of potential difficulties in the future, which apparently came to pass.

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[65] AGNot Esc. José Veedor, vol. 4592, fol. 88v-89r (10 June 1660). A Walloon shirt is a loose-fitting wide-collared shirt.

A third example of the expansion of the business came on 19 January 1663. On that date, Paula de Benavides rented the floors above her bookstore on Calle San Agustín. Other sources make it clear that Calderóns first rented and then owned their residence on Calle San Agustín, thus it appears that by this time they had transferred the press and bookstore to another location on the street. The rental price for the upper floors was for the modest sum of sixty pesos per year, and in light of the "considerable" repairs that were required, the owner discounted twenty pesos per year until all renovations were complete. The duration of the lease was for a lengthy twelve years, far in excess of the typical one-to-three year term.[66] One might reasonably suggest that renting the upper floors with the promise to complete the necessary repairs was simply a self-interested move to ensure that the ceiling did not cave in on the bookstore below. However, with the apparently restricted output of this period, it is also reasonable to suggest that the volume of books the family was importing from Spain was increasing as well and they were in need of additional warehouse space. The space may also have been intended for drying printed sheets. Although overall output was low between 1660 and 1685, the Calderón and Ribera presses produced no fewer than 285 works, exclusive of ephemera, or roughly one per month. This accounted for roughly 48% of the cataloged output of those years, nearly triple that of the next most active press, that of Rodríguez Lupercio with 108.

PROTO-GUILD SYSTEM

After reaching a peak during the conflicted decade of the 1640s and its immediate aftermath, following 1653 the number of recorded imprints contracts, and even with the appearance of the Rodríguez Lupercio press in 1657, there was no significant increase in

[66] AGNot Esc. Fernando Veedor, vol.4607, fol. 34v-35v (19 January 1663). A royal decree dated 29 August 1781 claimed that such long-term leases were intended to evade the sales tax and this may have been the case here as well.

output. The number of titles began to grow only in the decade of the 1680s, after the death of Paula de Benavides and Juan de Ribera and the cessation of the Calderóns' family ties with the peninsula and Seville's principal exporters. It is somewhat difficult to account for this restricted output, but it is possible to hazard some conjectures.

In a guild system, members regulated entry into the field, which in turn served to regulate products reaching the market.[67] There are a number of indications that a proto-guild system governed the printing trade in Mexico in the 1650s, one that endured until the 1720s, with Paula de Benavides and her descendants playing the lead role.

Pedro Medina Rico's *visita* of the Inquisition in 1655 provides a census of the trade and the relative standing of active booksellers. Medina Rico ordered each of them to produce lists of their stock, in accordance with the requirements of the Index of 1640.[68] While the order was, in part, due to the corruption that he found in the Holy Office, it may also have been prompted by the review of the library of Melchor Pérez de Soto, which included a number of books prohibited by the Index.[69] In order of appearance in the notifications, the booksellers were: 1) Hipólito de Rivera, "printer and book merchant;" 2) Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, "bookseller…who works in the bookstore of Agustín de Santisteban;" 3) Juan Lorenzo Bezón, "book merchant…who assists in the house and bookstore of Agustín de Santisteban;" 4) Agustín de Santisteban, "book merchant and bookseller;" 5) Br. Antonio Calderón, *presbítero*, "who is in charge with the bookstore of Paula de Benavides, his mother;" and 6) Juan de Ribera, "bookseller by

[67] The standard work on guilds in New Spain remains Manuel Carrera Stampa's *Los gremios mexicanos: La organización gremial en Nueva España, 1521-1861*. México: E.D.I.A.P.S.A, 1954.
[68] AGN Inquisición, vol. 438, exp. 43, fol. 449r-450v. Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Great Visitas of the Mexican Holy Office 1645-1669." In: *The Americas,* Vol. 44, No. 4 (Apr., 1988), pp. 399-420.
[69] On Melchor Pérez de Soto, see Donald Castanien. "The Mexican Inquisition Censors a Private Library, 1655." In: *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Vol. 34, No. 3 (Aug., 1954), pp. 374-392. See also the dissertation upon which it was based, "A Seventeenth Century Mexican Library and the Inquisition." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1951 and Irving A. Leonard, "The Strange Case of the Curious Book Collector." In: *Baroque Times in Old Mexico*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966, pp. 85-98.

trade." With Juan Ruiz not appearing among the notifications, it is safe to assume that he worked only as a printer, without maintaining a bookshop. Although the document itself does not mention booksellers' locations, the order of their appearance followed the geography of their locations in the city. Leaving the Palacio de la Inquisición across from the Convento de Santo Domingo, the first name is Hipólito de Ribera, whose shop was in the Alcaicería, followed by the shop of Agustín de Santisteban, on the south side of the plaza mayor, then to Paula de Benavides' shop on Calle San Agustín, near the intersection with Monterilla, and ending with Juan de Ribera, also on Calle San Agustín.

The inventories these booksellers submitted have been the object of some scholarly attention.[70] While such lists are frequently studied in an attempt to discern the intellectual milieu of the times, what concerns me here are the simple numbers. Paula de Benavides list included 1,126 titles, followed by Hipólito de Ribera's 720. Santisteban and Lupercio registered 343 and Juan de Ribera a mere 72.[71]

While providing a clear index of the relative volume of trade each seller enjoyed, Hipólito de Ribera's list raises a significant question. In June of 1654, he purchased the library of Lic. Mateo de Cisneros, lawyer for the Real Audiencia. Cisneros returned to Spain in that year, following a career that included serving as one of the Jesuits' lawyers in their conflict with Palafox.[72] His was a substantial collection of 1,100 books that, together with the shelving, was purchased for a total price of 1,500 pesos. Nevertheless, less than one year later, Hipólito's inventory included only some 720 titles.[73] It seems unlikely that he could have sold almost 400 volumes in such a short span, but in

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[70] See especially, Enrique González González and Víctor Gutiérrez Rodríguez. "Libros en venta en el México de Sor Juana y de Sigüenza, 1655-1660." In: Castañeda. *Del autor al lector*. pp. 103-132.
[71] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 438, exp. 45-49.
[72] AGNot, Esc. 336, Gabriel López Ahedo, vol. 2230, fol. 48r-49r, (16 June 1654); Beristaín, *Biblioteca hispanoamericana*, vol. I, p. 310.
[73] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 438 exp. 49.

reviewing the list of 343 titles submitted by Santisteban and Lupercio, one finds a considerable number devoted to law, suggesting that Ribera sold or otherwise transferred some of Cisneros' books *en bloc* to the former.[74] The complaint that led to Medina Rico's order generating these lists, by *calificador* Dr. Rodrigo Ruiz de Cepeda Martínez, appears to refer directly to such a transfer, though without mentioning Hipólito by name,

> …by the newest Index and *Expurgatorio* of the year [16]40, booksellers are obligated to produce alphabetical inventories of the books that they have within sixty days of the beginning of the new year, sworn and signed and delivered to this tribunal, under penalty of fifty *ducados*, and booksellers and any others are also ordered to make lists or inventories of books to be sold or appraised and present the books, inventories or lists to the person or persons deputized by this Holy Office to review and register these inventories or lists.
>
> [But] it is thus that neither one nor the others comply with their obligation in this city, for, as is well known, [they] buy as many libraries as can be sold owing to the deaths of their owners, *and without appraising them, supply them [to] Santiesteban, Francisco Lupercio, or Juan Bezón*…[emphasis added].[75]

Hipólito de Ribera not only sold or otherwise transferred books to Santiesteban, Lupercio and Bezón, but apparently sold them his press as well. Ribera ceased printing well before his death in 1659 and the most likely purchasers of his materials were Agustín de Santisteban and Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio. Hipólito's last imprint was issued in 1656, and Santisteban and Rodríguez Lupercio appeared jointly as printers the following year. This brought an end to the near monopoly enjoyed by Paula de Benavides and Hipólito de Ribera from 1649 onwards, and it may appear odd that the press would go to a new competitor rather than remain in the family. In later years, Juan de Ribera, in partnership with his son Miguel, established a printing office in 1677, so it is notable that

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[74] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 438 exp. 46. See also, Magdalena Chocano Mena. "Colonial Scholars in the Cultural Establishment of Seventeenth-Century New Spain." Ph.D. Thesis, SUNY Stony Brook, 1994, p. 92.

[75] AGN Inquisición, vol. 438, exp. 43, fol. 449r.

he did not purchase his brother's materials in 1657.[76] It is possible that Juan de Ribera's legal demands over his inheritance had fractured the relationship between the brothers. In addition, Hipólito's assumption of Juan's debt to Rodrigo Alonso Mota may have signaled that Juan suffered from financial difficulties that prohibited him from buying his brother's press. Nevertheless, Juan could have availed himself of a loan from Paula de Benavides, as he would do years later for the acquisition of his own press. It is also possible that the relationship between Paula de Benavides and Hipólito de Ribera had soured as well, yet there is every indication Calderóns and Riberas remained on good terms.

Evidence also suggests that there were business and affective ties between them and Bezón, Santiesteban and Rodríguez Lupercio. Juan Lorenzo Bezón, was likely of French origin or descent, and was in Mexico as early as the first decade of the 1600s. In 1634 and 1635, he was a bookseller in association with Simón de Toro who granted Bezón his *poder* upon departing for the Philippines in 1635. This is the same Simón de Toro who gave testimony on behalf of Bernardo Calderón in 1628.[77] In 1671, Bezón likewise gave testimony on behalf of Diego Calderón's petition to become a *comisario* of the Inquisition, having known him since birth.[78] His 1655 inventory included the annotation, "this inventory is to be delivered to the shop of Juan de Ribera," perhaps suggesting a relationship between the two, or that Juan de Ribera had been appointed by the Inquisition to collect the inventories Medina Rico had ordered, or both.[79]

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[76] Juan de Ribera's first work was José Valero Caballero y Grajera, *Sermón al santísimo sacramento, por el feliz viaje, y milagroso escape de la Armada Real de España el año de 25,* México: Juan de Ribera, 1677. See also, AGNot Esc. 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 762, fol. 203v-209v, (23 November 1685).
[77] AGNot, José Veedor, esc. 685, vol. 4595, fol. 226v-227r.
[78] LOC, Hans P. Kraus Collection, Peti[ción] y Genealojía [sic] del Br. Antonio Calderón y Br. Diego Calderón su hermano, fol. 95v-98r. AGN Inquisición, vol. 438, exp. 45. AGNot, José Veedor, Esc. 685, vol. 4595, fol. 226v-227r.
[79] AGN Inquisición, vol. 438, exp. 44, fol. 458v.

Agustín de Santisteban has left few traces in the documentary record, but those that remain suggest a close relationship with the Riberas. The few words that Medina was able to provide derive entirely from the fewer than a dozen imprints that he produced, all in conjunction with Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, between 1657-1661.[80] The few mentions of him uncovered during research for the present study add significantly to what can be said about him and his relationship with the book trade. He was born in Uterga, about ten miles outside of Pamplona in Navarre, Spain, and his full name was Agustín de Santisteban y Vertiz.[81] He may have been somehow related to Capitán Juan de Vertiz Santisteban, a rancher and in 1658 *alcalde ordinario* in Santiago de Querétaro.[82] There was likewise a Seville-based exporter named Juan de Vertiz who, among other things, made six shipments of books to Diego de Ribera between 1621 and 1625.[83] Relations were good between Juan de Ribera and Agustín de Santisteban, judging by the post-script to a letter sent to Ribera by Puebla bookseller Juan de Borja Infante dated 2 October 1662 that reads,

> Ag[ustí]n de S[a]ntisteban is doing badly in this city [suffering] from cold cancer in his toes. I don't know what October will bring, [but] we will attend him in whatever way we can, since he is poor. I kiss your hands and esteem you.[84]

From this letter we know that after parting ways, for whatever reason, with Rodríguez Lupercio, Santisteban moved to Puebla, apparently none the better financially from the relationship.

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[80] Medina. *La imprenta en México*. p. CXXXV.

[81] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 438, exp. 57, fol. 532; vol. 438, exp. 46, fol. 464.

[82] AGNot, Fernando Veedor vol. 4602, fol. 1404-v, 422r.

[83] AGI, Contratación, 1170a, n4, fol. 92r-93r 1621; 1170b, n. 12, fol. 71r-72v. 1621;1170b, n. 14, fol. 75r-78r. 1621; 1170b, n14, fol. 165r-165v 1621; 1173, n3, r2. fol. 71r-72v, 1625; 1173, n3, r3, fol. 77r-77v, 1625.

[84] AGN, Indiferente virreinal, caja 5025 (Correos), exp. 88. I am grateful to Mercedes Salomón Salazar for alerting me to this document.

The family of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio is only slightly better documented, and the registers of their principal notary have long since vanished.[85] It is clear, however, that by the late 1650s both Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio and his brother Antonio Rodríguez were active merchants in Mexico City, and that the family was quite successful.[86] Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, for example, instituted an endowed chaplaincy of 4,000 pesos in his testament, and his brother, merchant Antonio Rodríguez Lupercio, distributed over 100,000 pesos in his will.[87] Like the descendants of Bernardo Calderón and Juan de Ribera, those of Rodríguez Lupercio also had close ties to the religious establishment, but in addition, significant commercial enterprises. There are strong indications of cooperation between Benavides and Rodríguez Lupercio in later years, suggesting that Hipólito's sale of his press to Santisteban and Lupercio, like his sale of books *en bloc*, was consensual, perhaps even strategic.

In 1677 and 1678, for example, two volumes of laws were published, the first, Rodrigo de Aguiar y Acuña's *Sumario de la recopilación general*, which covered the period 1492-1628, and the second, Juan Francisco de Montemayor y Córdova de Cuenca's *Sumarios de las cédulas, órdenes, y provisiones reales*, covering the years 1628-1677.[88] The first of these volumes was produced at Rodríguez Lupercio's press, while the second was produced by Paula de Benavides. As the holder of the *cartilla* monopoly, and as these were official publications for the *Audiencia*, these two works rightly should have come from Paula de Benavides' press, and indeed she did manage

[85] Multiple references to documents done before notary Joseph Muñoz de Castro between 1683 and 1699 appear in AGN Bienes Nacionales, vol. 247, exp. 13, but only one volume of Muñoz de Castro's registers, 1694, exists in the AGNot.
[86] See, for example, AGNot, Esc. 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4604, fol. 389v-390r and vol. 4604, fol. 195v-196r.
[87] AGN, Bienes Nacionales, Vol. 274, Exp. 13, fol. 18r-36r. See also the registers of Notary Fernando Veedor, esc. 687 for multiple transactions by Antonio Rodríguez.
[88] Medina *México* 1151 and 1174, respectively.

their production. A *real cédula* from 24 July 1677 notes that the first volume, i.e. the one produced by Rodríguez Lupercio, was nearing completion and that for the second volume to commence, fifty reams of paper, sufficient for 125 copies of the work, should be delivered to Paula de Benavides "in the manner in which they were delivered for the first volume."[89] Benavides completed the second volume in 1678, and approached the viceroy on 16 May 1679 stating that "by order of Sr. *Oídor* don Juan Francisco [de Montemayor y Córdova de Cuenca] I printed the two halves of the two books of the *Recopilación de las cédulas reales de Indias* [sic], and I am owed for more than one year more than 500 pesos [for the work]."[90] In other words, Paula de Benavides received the *Audiencia's* commission, along with the paper necessary for the task, and sent the first volume to Rodríguez Lupercio's press, printing the second volume herself. This is all the more remarkable, since Benavides' son-in-law Juan de Ribera began printing in 1677, and had the question been one of simple capacity, the two volumes could have been "kept in the family," rather than sent to Rodríguez Lupercio.

There are other examples of proto-guild cooperation as well. The 1662 letter, quoted above with reference to Agustín Santisteban, primarily concerned Juan de Ribera's shipment of two reams of paper to Juan de Borja in order to assist with the publication of Bartolomé de Letona's, *Perfecta religiosa*.[91] In full, the letter reads, in rather mangled Castilian,

> Sr. Juan de Ribera
>
> I appreciate knowing of your health, your honor, may it be for many years. That is my desire, and what I and my family enjoy.

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[89] AGN Reales Cedulas Duplicadas, vol. 22, exp. 359, fol. 361.
[90] AGN Reales Cedulas Duplicadas, vol. 22, exp. 400, fol. 373v.
[91] Antonio Calderón had printed a sermon by Letona in 1645, see Medina *México* 601, and González de Cossio *510* 176.

> I received the two reams [of paper?] that your honor sent me, which was very good. I will give Padre Fray Felipe what remains, with much pleasure, as you will find here.
>
> This book that you are helping to print, of Madre Geronima, is very good. I beg your honor to help me accommodate those that you can. I send these twelve at twenty *reales*. Your honor will pay me for them and advise me when to send more through which I will receive your mercy.
>
> And give this letter to my brother, *bachiller* Antonio de Birueña, who lives on the corner of the church of Santa Teresa in the house of a master tailor, and this package, give it to him yourself, which I will appreciate, and send me what you are offered.
>
> Los Angeles, October 2, 1662, your honor, your lowest servant, Juan de Borja.[92]

Letona's text required 107 sheets to produce, thus if the "two reams" mentioned in the letter refers to paper intended for that purpose, it supported fewer than ten copies and it is difficult to see how any paper would be left over to give to Fray Felipe. Borja may have received other shipments of paper at some earlier point, or financial assistance from Ribera for its purchase. Borja's reference to twelve copies at twenty *reales* could only be referring to twenty *reales* for each copy, perhaps his estimation of the desired selling price rather than cost to Ribera, but the language is unclear. What is clear is that Ribera was assisting Borja publish and sell a very substantial text, and, though it is difficult to

[92] "Señor Juan de Ribera / Estime saber de su salud de vuestra merced sea por munchos años q[ue] deseo a cuyo mandado es la q[ue] gozo y mi familia / R[ece]vi las dos resmas q[ue] v[uestra] m[erced] me enbio q[ue] era muy bien dare al P[adr]e Fraay [sic] felipe lo q[ue] resto [sic]. Con muncho gusto como halla aqui--- / Ese libro ayude a ymprimir de la m[adr]e ger[oni]ma q[ue] es muy bueno. Sup[li]co a v[uestra] m[erced] me ayude a acomodar los q[ue] pueda enbio esos dose a 20 r[eale]s me los abonara v[uestra] m[erced] y abisara p[ar]a enbiar mas en que rescivre m[erce]d por otra tal--- / Y mandar dar essa carta a mi her[man]o el B[achille]r Ant[oni]o de Birueña q[ue] bibe en la esquina de la yg[lesi]a de S[an]ta Theresa en cassa [de] un m[aestr]o de sastre y ese enbolbrilo darselo en mano propia q[ue] lo estimare y en q[ue] le ofresca v[uestra] m[erced] me mande es de los Ang[ele]s octubre 2 del [1] 662 años de v[uestra] m[erced] su menor servidor Juan de Borja. B[eso] S[us] M[anos] y le estima." AGN, Indiferente virreinal, caja 5025 (Correos), exp. 88.

tell with certainty, Borja's language goes beyond the formulaic niceties and suggests a subordinate position in relationship to Ribera.[93]

In later decades, there were other cases of cooperation and collaboration among members of the trade. For example, in the early 1690s, bookseller Juan José Guillena Carrascoso worked at a press in Mexico City owned by Puebla printer Diego Fernández de León. He established himself as a printer in 1693, in the wake of the devastating riot of the previous year, and his printing house was located virtually next door to the press owned, at the time, by María de Benavides, Paula's daughter. It is unclear if the foundation of his operation took place in a similar fashion as that of Santisteban and Rodríguez Lupercio, but in 1694 he printed a legal brief for the Congregation of San Pedro as part of a lawsuit with one of its congregants, José de Lombeida.[94] At the time, various members of the Calderón and Ribera families were members of the Congregation, as were members of the Rodríguez Lupercio family.[95] Nevertheless, neither of the latter accepted the job of printing the Congregation's brief, despite both having accomplished printing jobs for them in the past. That task fell to Guillena Carrascoso. Lombeida was a well-regarded chaplain in the choir of the cathedral, and a

[93] Although there are no clear typographical signals that the two shared the actual printing of the sheets, the finished product does present bibliographical oddities that suggest this might have been the case. For example, some sections of the text are foliated while others are paginated ([32] leaves, 1-65 leaves, 66-104 pages, 105-165 leaves, 166-244 pages, 245-248 leaves, 249-389 pages, [7] leaves). Likewise, the signatures, utterly bizarre though accurately transcribed, present similar questions: [par.]-8[par.]⁴, A⁻Q⁴, RS⁴, TV⁴, XY⁴, Za⁴, bc⁴, d-p⁴, qr⁴, st⁴, vx⁴, yz⁴, 2A-2K⁴, 2L2M⁴, 2N2O⁴, 2P-3F⁴ 3G² 3H-3I⁴. It is possible that each printer took responsibility for different sections of the text, thus accounting for these features. As an aside, Letona's text was later suppressed, since it provided details about the route of the Manila galleons.

[94] Pedro Maldonado Camacho, *Al Ilmo. y Rmo. Sr. Dr. D. Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz*, México: Juan José Guillena Carrascoso, 1684 [sic for 1694]. (Medina *México* 1314). Medina errantly dates this to 1684 based on an error on the title page.

[95] AHSS, Fondo Congregación de San Pedro, Libro 1, Libro de registro de los cofrades, fol. 88v, 91r, 107r-v, 111r.

client of archbishop Aguiar y Seixas. Either the Calderóns or Rodríguez Lupercio printed his brief.[96]

DIMINISHED TIES TO SPAIN

While the Calderóns' enterprise expanded and prospered during this period, it also experienced reversals and changed circumstances. By all appearances, José Montero, Bernardo Calderón's father-in-law, made his final voyage to the Americas between the years 1650 to 1652, when Spain, particularly Seville, was lashed with plague, an outbreak which had begun as early as 1647. The pages of Seville's notarial registers for these years turn from obligations and payments, apprenticeship contracts and dowries, to page after page of testaments, among them, that of José Montero's wife, Agustina Calderón, dated 23 July 1651.[97] In it, she noted that José Montero was in the Indies, along with her son Manuel, and she gave Montero responsibility for administering his share of the estate until his return.[98] Bernardo Calderón's children were to receive a quarter share of her estate, which included unspecified property and business dealings in the Americas, ultimately valued at just under 1,250 pesos. The figure appears almost impossibly low, since when José Montero filed his testament in 1653, in addition to real property, he ordered masses and the distribution of alms valued at 2,200 pesos.[99] Agustina Calderón's estate was settled in Mexico when María de Benavides received 197 pesos, 7 *reales* in June of 1656 as her portion of the inheritance, but it was not completely executed in Seville until October of 1659.[100] Final mention of José Montero appeared in the early

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[96] AGN Bienes Nacionales, vol. 877, exp. 44, not foliated. Guillena Carrascoso was as well, see AGN Registro de Fianzas, vol. 3, fol. 206r-v

[97] AHPS, Off. 19, Alonso Alarcón, vol. 12924, fol. 481r-482v.

[98] No "Manuel Calderón" or "Manuel Guillén" appear in the documentation of travelers to the Indies at the AGI.

[99] AHPS, Off. 19 Alonso Alarcón, vol. 19933, fol. 838r-v

[100] AGNot Esc. 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4600, fol. 124r-v.

1660s when, in October of 1663, he acknowledged receipt of 260 pesos from Juan Bautista de Medinilla, recently arrived from the Indies.[101] Presumably, Montero died some time shortly thereafter, and with his death direct family ties linking the Calderóns to Seville booksellers were broken.

Whereas Montero and Bernardo Calderón had kept informal accounts between them, in the years following Montero's death, transactions became more formalized. On 31 May 1681, for example, Juan de Ribera and Paula de Benavides jointly entered into an agreement with Francisco de Barrios of Seville to deliver a shipment of books. At the time, Barrios was in Mexico, about to depart from Veracruz, and successful delivery would yield him 100% profit, 110% if he delivered the books via intermittent packet boats or with the mercury shipments.[102] By 10 June 1682, Barrios had acquired the books in Seville, and had them appraised by three of the city's booksellers prior to loading them aboard ship.[103] When the shipment arrived in Mexico, Ribera and Barrios quarreled about the price, and legal action was threatened. The two agreed to an assessment of the books by a neutral third party, who, on 21 January 1684, concluded that the shipment was worth 7,737 pesos, including the 100% markup, which Ribera was compelled to accept.[104]

CONCLUSION

The Calderón press reached its apex between 1649 and 1684, under the leadership of Paula de Benavides, and enjoyed a near monopoly through 1657. Of the 231 recorded works produced between 1649 and 1657, the allied presses of Paula de Benavides and Hipólito de Ribera issued no fewer than 120, and it is likely that the two published a

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[101] AHPS, Off. 19, Alonso Alarcón, vol. 12958, fol. (9 March 1660); vol. 12968, (30 October 1663).
[102] AGNot Esc. 564, Nicolás Rodríguez Guzmán, vol. 3894, fol. 54r-55r.
[103] AHPS, Off. 19, Alonso Alarcón, vol. 13022, fol. 434r.437v. I am grateful to César Manrique Figueroa for sharing this document with me.
[104] AGNot Esc. 564, Nicolás Rodríguez Guzmán, vol. 3894, fol. 129r-131v, 133v.

majority of the over sixty imprints from the period that cannot be assigned to a printer. Their only competition in Mexico City was Juan Ruiz, who published nineteen works during the period, and an additional twenty came off the presses in Puebla. Juan Blanco de Alcázar produced as many as eleven there as well, before being silenced in 1651.

The monopoly position Benavides and Ribera enjoyed through 1657 put them in the role of gatekeepers and patrons. Not unlike the modern tenure system that rewards academics' publication record, clerics in seventeenth-century Mexico also relied on publications as one means for promotion.[105] With the opening of another press in 1657, by Agustín Santisteban and Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, although her near-monopoly was at its end, Paula de Benavides maintained a central role in trade. While there was no formal guild system regulating the printing trade, a proto-guild arrangement emerged, one that controlled access to the profession and the publication of printed texts.

Through the 1660s, the Calderóns' family ties to Seville continued, although these began to attenuate with the deaths of Agustina Calderón in 1651 and José Montero sometime following 1660. Nevertheless, commercial relationships continued, the office on Calle San Agustín expanded, and as Calderón's children came into adulthood, most entered clerical careers. Since the majority of published authors of the period were also clerics, these career choices also proved beneficial to the family business. In addition to the commissions guaranteed her from the *cartilla* monopoly and as official printer to the Inquisition, Paula de Benavides had, in effect, acquisitions editors strategically positioned among the groups responsible for producing the vast majority of texts that found their way into print and who could drive business to her press. The formal linking of the Calderóns and the Riberas, through the marriage of María de Benavides and Juan de

[105] Chocano Mena, *La fortaleza docta,* passim. I am grateful to Cynthia Radding for this useful analogy.

Ribera in 1647, ensured the continuity of the family business through succeeding generations.

Chapter 5: The Economics of the Book Trade

"The profession of bookseller merits at all times to be counted among the noble and honored, as can be proven by many means and authorities."[1]

What were the economics of the book trade in New Spain? What were the costs associated with getting into print? What might a printing house and bookstore contain in the late seventeenth century, and what were the values of those assets? How did printers manage their accounts? With the death of Paula de Benavides on 13 November 1684, forty-three years of her leadership of the family business came to an end. Within a year, on 17 August 1685, her son-in-law, Juan de Ribera, died as well. This dual family tragedy, and the sequence of transitions that followed up to 1714, produced a series of records that provide a glimpse through the shop window into the two most important printing houses and bookstores of the period. These records include the distribution of Paula de Benavides' property to her daughter, María de Benavides, a partnership agreement between the latter and her son, Miguel de Ribera (d. 1707), and the division of property among the heirs of Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera, Miguel de Ribera's widow, in 1714.[2]

Following a brief overview of this transitional period, the remaining three sections of this chapter will analyze, first, a series of billing records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to illustrate aspects of the production process and the profitability of printing during the period. Understanding the mechanics of getting into print and the associated costs will be essential for interpreting the material in the latter two sections

[1] Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes*, Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1615, fol. 364.

[2] AGNot, Esc. 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 762, 5 March 1685, fol. 47v-56v; 23 November 1685, fol. 203v-209v; vol. 763, fol. 173v-175v. AGN, Civil, vol. 2046, exp. 5.

and the following chapter. The second section provides a detailed analysis of the printing office and bookstore inventories produced following the deaths of Paula de Benavides and Juan de Ribera. These inventories, done in 1687 at the peak of the family's career, provide not only a look inside the shops and at some of the activities performed there, but also a snapshot of the family's substantially improved financial position over that of 1640 when Bernardo Calderón died.

The third section analyzes the division of Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera's estate. While in many ways an unreliable document, it nevertheless helps to supplement the preceding inventories and, most importantly, allows for the reconstruction of a portion of the family's finances. The latter illustrates one aspect of how the family managed its business on an ongoing basis. Taken together, these documents also demonstrate the effects of partible inheritance on the family's financial position. With fewer heirs electing religious vocations, with each subsequent generation, heirs received ever-smaller amounts from the slowly eroding estates.

OVERVIEW OF THE CALDERÓN ENTERPRISE, 1684-1714

With the deaths of Paula de Benavides and Juan de Ribera, María de Benavides, daughter of Bernardo Calderón, effectively became the head of both of the family's printing houses: the Ribera's on the Empedradillo, and the one founded by Bernardo Calderón on Calle San Agustín. The Empedradillo office began in 1677 as a joint endeavor by Juan de Ribera and his son Miguel, as Juan's will makes clear.

> And for that which reflects and touches upon my son, Miguel de Ribera, in the cited [account] book appears the pact that we made about the press that we brought or had brought at our expense from the Kingdoms of Castile, halves of the cost of said press touching him and me equally between the two of us just as we also go in halves with the improvements to it and half in the expenditures and costs, paying the salaries of the workers, with the exception of the salary that I

> pay him for his personal work and all related to this will be found in the cited book.[3]

Thus, although Miguel had provided half of the capital to initiate the business and shared equally in operating costs and profits, strictly speaking, he was not in partnership with his father, instead serving as his employee. Upon his father's death, Miguel's half of the business reverted to him, while his mother María de Benavides inherited the other, as part of the communal property that accumulated during her marriage to Juan de Ribera. Her leadership of the Empedradillo press was initially an informal arrangement, however, when Juan de Ribera's executors finally settled his estate in 1687, his son Miguel formalized it. He agreed before a notary to work for his mother for a period of six years, sharing equally in all costs and profits, again receiving a salary for his efforts.[4]

Virtually all the books coming from the Empedradillo press bore the conjoint imprint, "María de Benavides, Widow of Juan de Ribera," and none mentioned Miguel. With the exception of one book produced by María de Espinosa in 1614, this was the first time a woman's name appeared in a Mexican imprint.[5] Assuredly well known to the book buying public, María de Benavides' statement of responsibility perhaps made reference to the peninsular and creole legacies of the respective branches of the families, though by this time both were by definition creoles.

Although effectively under the leadership of María de Benavides, the Calle San Agustín press operated under the imprint "Inheritors of the Widow of Bernardo

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[3] "Y por lo que mira y toca a mi hijo, Miguel de Ribera, en el libro citado consta el pacto que hicimos sobre la imprenta que trujamos o se trujo a nuestra costa de los Reinos de Castilla, a mitad de su costo tocándonos a el y a mi dicha imprenta por igual entre los dos como asimismo vamos a medias en los aumentos de ella y a media en los gastos y costas pagando los salarios de los oficiales fuera del salario que le pago por su trabajo personal y de todo lo que en esta razón se hallaré en el libro citado." AGNot. Esc. 564, Nicolás Rodríguez de Guzmán, Vol. 3894, fol. 152r-154r.

[4] AGNot. Esc. 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 763, fol. 173v-175v.

[5] Martín de León. *Manual breve y forma de administrar los santos sacramentos a los indios.* México: María de Espinosa, 1614.

Calderón." Paula de Benavides had given birth to seven children: Diego, Gabriel, María, Antonio (d. 1668), Bernardo, Micaela de Jesús, and another Bernardo who had died in infancy. Gabriel and Micaela de Jesús had renounced their inheritance when they took their religious vows. Of her five living children, Paula de Benavides named María and Diego, a diocesan cleric, as her co-executors and two sole inheritors, and from many documents, it appears that the two managed the business jointly.[6]

Upon Diego's death in 1696, the business should have come under the sole ownership of María de Benavides as the last surviving heir, and thus could have functioned under her name alone. Nevertheless, it continued operating under the imprint "Inheritors of the widow of Bernardo Calderón," and it is not clear who these might have been. The only real possibility would have been the Franciscan Bernardo Calderón, though he was not named as an heir in Paula de Benavides' testament or as one of the inheritors of Diego Calderón's estate. However, he would have taken a vow of poverty, renouncing his inheritance, and thus the proceeds of the enterprise, upon entering the Franciscan order.[7]

With María de Benavides' death on 4 May 1703, her testament divided the businesses between brothers Miguel and Francisco de Ribera Calderón.[8] The last book to appear with her name in the imprint was Pedro de la Concepción's, *Funeral panegírico de la ejemplar vida, y dichosa muerte del V. P. Fr. Melchor López de Jesús*, with licenses and approvals dated in June of 1700. Miguel de Ribera began printing under his own name from the Empedradillo press as early as 1701, although his mother still held rights to the business. The earliest book to appear with his imprint, judging by the licenses and

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[6] AGNot. Esc. 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 762, fol. 47v-56v and Vol. 763, fol. 222v-225r.
[7] AGNot. Esc 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 762, fol. 152r-154r.
[8] AGNot, Esc. 254, Juan Clemente Guerrero, Vol. 1656, 11 June 1699; AHSS, Fondo Congregación de San Pedro, Libro 1, Libro registro de cofrades, fol. 115r.

approvals, was Juan Millán de Poblete's, *Sermón fúnebre, que en las exequias celebradas por la venerable unión de Nuestro Padre San Felipe Neri, en su Oratorio de México, a las piadosas memorias del Señor Doctor D. Juan de la Pedrosa*, dated in early June of that year. He occasionally deployed the titles of *Impresor y Mercader de Libros*, as his grandfather had done, though his imprint more frequently simply referred to his location on the Empedradillo.

Miguel de Ribera's career was short-lived, as he died in 1707, producing no fewer than twenty-nine editions in those six years, or just under five titles per year. The press passed to his widow, Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera, sometime between March and July of 1707, but her career was likewise short, with her death occurring in 1714.[9] She was quite productive during the period, however, producing now fewer than seventy-seven titles in addition to ephemeral work for the Inquisition, or roughly ten per year.

From 1703, the Calle San Agustín printing office continued with a fairly consistent and sustained output under Francisco de Ribera Calderón through his death in 1731. Under his widow, Juana de León y Mesa, however, it saw more intermittent operation in terms of bookwork, though still producing ephemeral items that have left traces only in the documentary record. Under Francisco de Ribera Calderón, the press issued no fewer than 140 titles in twenty-nine years, or just under five per year. With the death of Miguel de Ribera in 1707, most of the printing for the Inquisition moved from the Empedradillo to Francisco de Ribera's Calle San Agustín operation, and Francisco occasionally made reference to his status as printer to the Inquisition in his imprint.[10] Likewise, the two shared in the monopoly on *cartillas* and along with it the obligation to

[9] AGNot. Esc. 569, Juan Romo de Vera, Vol. 3920, fol. 90r-93v.
[10] See, for example, Juan José Eguiara y Eguren. *La sabiduría canonizada*. México: Imprenta del Secreto del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Francisco Rivera Calderón, 1729. Medina, *México*, 3058.

print for the *Audiencia* and the viceroy. Bibliographers have registered only seven books from the San Agustín press under Juana de León y Mesa between 1731 and 1747, though billing records show that it continued producing Inquisition edicts and other ephemeral items until late 1749 or early 1750, when it was sold, though it is not clear to whom.[11]

The period between 1684 and 1714 also saw changes to the competitive landscape the Calderóns and Riberas faced, with new printers appearing in the city, as would increasingly be the case in the later decades of the eighteenth century. The Jesuits contracted Diego Fernández de León from Puebla de los Ángeles to produce two works between 1690 and 1692. He installed a press in the Casa Profesa, but he himself remained in Puebla leaving the Mexico office to be managed by his employees, among them Juan José Guillena Carrascoso. The following year, Guillena Carrascoso would establish himself independently on the Empedradillo, virtually next door to the Riberas.[12]

Nevertheless, the Calderóns and Riberas were, taken together, the most productive printers of the period. Of the 1,105 Mexico City imprints issued between 1684 and 1714, only 795 can be accurately assigned to a printer, and of these, the Calderóns and Riberas produced no fewer than 469, accounting for 59%.[13] Even adding in the 231 imprints that came from Puebla, the family's output accounted for 45.7% of New Spain's 1,026 identifiable editions of the period. Following them came Gerónima María Delgado y Cervantes, the widow of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, with 193 (24.3%), and Guillena Carrascoso and his heirs with 130 (16.35%).

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[11] AGN Inquisición, vol. 528, exp. 3, for example, holds billing records for edicts and other ephemeral items produced at the San Agustín press, many of which have not survived. See especially fol. 263r-282v.

[12] As previously mentioned, Medina cites a 1684 work from Guillena Carrascoso's press, Diego Maldonado Camacho's *Al Ilmo. Y Rmo. Sr. Dr. D. Manuel Fernández De Santa Cruz*. The latter was produced in 1694, and the date of 1684 is simply a compositor's error.

[13] The 1,105 imprints may be an over-count, since 152 of these titles can only be assigned to the seventeenth century, without specifying the decade or year. Subtracting these leaves 953 imprints for the period, including those that cannot be assigned to a printer. The family's production still would account for 49% of this total.

With the Riberas' location on the Empedradillo, across from the Cathedral, they may have suffered some damages as a result of the riot of 1692, which may also partially account for the appearance of Guillena Carrascoso the following year. The bibliographical record suggests a reduced output of only four titles from the Empedradillo press in 1692, and perhaps lingering difficulty until 1695. While some of this reduction may have been due to the appearance of Guillena Carrascoso, it may also have been a result of damages suffered during the riot.[14] The year 1693 also marked the end of Miguel's six-year agreement to work for his mother at the Empedradillo press, but there is no clear evidence of a relationship between the cessation of that contract and the arrival of Guillena Carrascoso or that Miguel ceased working for his mother. With the broad contours of this transitional period from 1684 to 1714 understood, the following three sections focus closely on the economics of the trade.

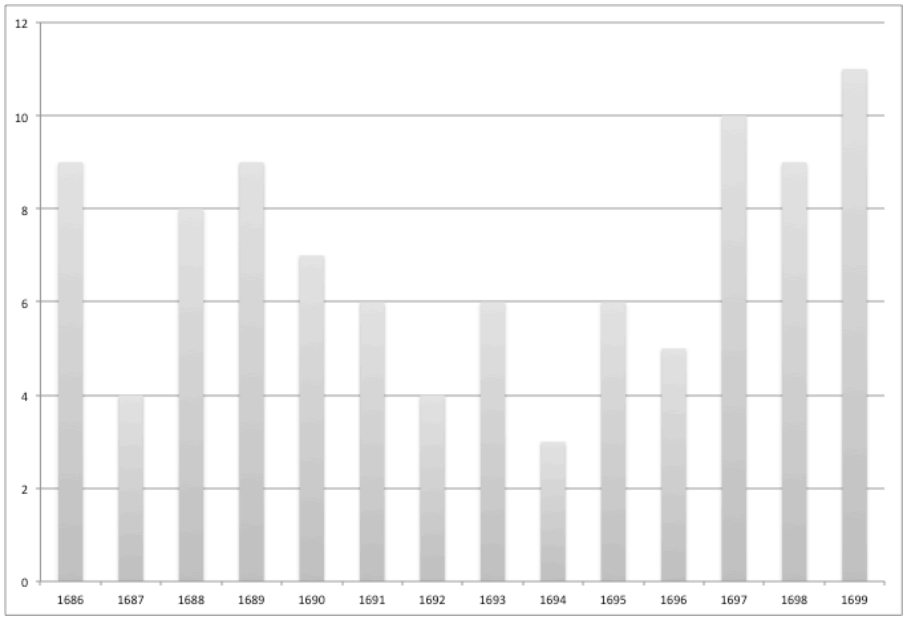

Figure 2: Books produced at the Empedradillo press 1686-1699

[14] On the riot of 1692, see R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Dominations. Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.

BILLING FOR BOOKS

Billing records for individual books are fairly scarce, however, where they exist, they can provide insight into not only a book's production costs, but also the print run and thus the anticipated market for a text. This section examines billing records for four books done at the Calderón press: the published proceedings of the *Autos de fe* of 1649 and 1659, Francisco Florencia's *Estrella del norte de México* of 1688, and for a 1714 work celebrating the birth of Philip Pedro (1712-1719), third son of Philip V.[15] These four examples are all post-production bills, rather than pre-production contracts. In order to provide a contrast, I include a pre-production contract for the printing of the second volume of Antonio de Calancha's *Crónica moralizada,* begun in Peru in 1651. Understanding the process of book manufacture and how to interpret the billing records occasionally found in the archives is necessary to interpret the inventories discussed in subsequent sections, particularly the division of debts among Gertrudis de Escobar's heirs in 1714.

With a manuscript approved and sent to the printing office, the master printer or a compositor "cast off" the copy, a process that allowed them to determine where the page breaks would fall, how many pages and sheets the work would entail. It was then possible to purchase the right amount of paper and divide the composition of the text between two or more compositors. These would then set the type, either sequentially, page-by-page, or by "form," e.g. one side of a printed sheet. For a folio volume, pages 4 and 1 comprised the "outer form," and pages 2 and 3 the "inner form."[16] Once they had composed the

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[15] Matías de Bocanegra, *Auto general de la fe*. México: Antonio Calderón, 1649 (Medina *México* 680). Francisco Florencia, *La estrella del norte de México,* México: María de Benavides, viuda de Juan de Ribera, 1688 (Medina *México* 1412). José Gil Ramírez, *Esfera mexicana*, México: viuda de Miguel de Ribera, 1714 (Medina *México* 2393).

[16] There is no way to know for certain, however I suspect that during the seventeenth century most Mexican books were set by form rather than page by page. The first reason is that setting page by page requires setting all of the pages for both sides of the sheet prior to imposition. Setting by form only requires

forms, they would be moved to the press and locked up so a proof copy could be taken. The compositor, the author, or a designated corrector would correct this proof sheet.[17] To correct the form in press required unlocking the type and extracting the piece or pieces of type that were in error and replacing them with the correct sorts, adjusting line spacing as necessary. Once corrected, the type would again be locked up and the full print run of the outer form would be "pulled."

Since the paper had to be slightly damp to take the impression, it was essential for the pressmen to "perfect" the sheet by printing the inner form (the other side of the sheet) before the sheets dried. The sheets would then be hung in an attic to dry, before the binders would fold them into quires, sew the quires together to make the text block, and, for all but folio volumes, shave the bolts to open the pages so the book could be read. With this step completed, the covers could be attached. Simply owing to its copious availability and therefore low cost, vellum, made from animal hides, was typically the binding material of choice in New Spain. Unreinforced "limp" vellum could also be placed over wood or pasteboard for a more substantial "stiff" vellum binding.[18]

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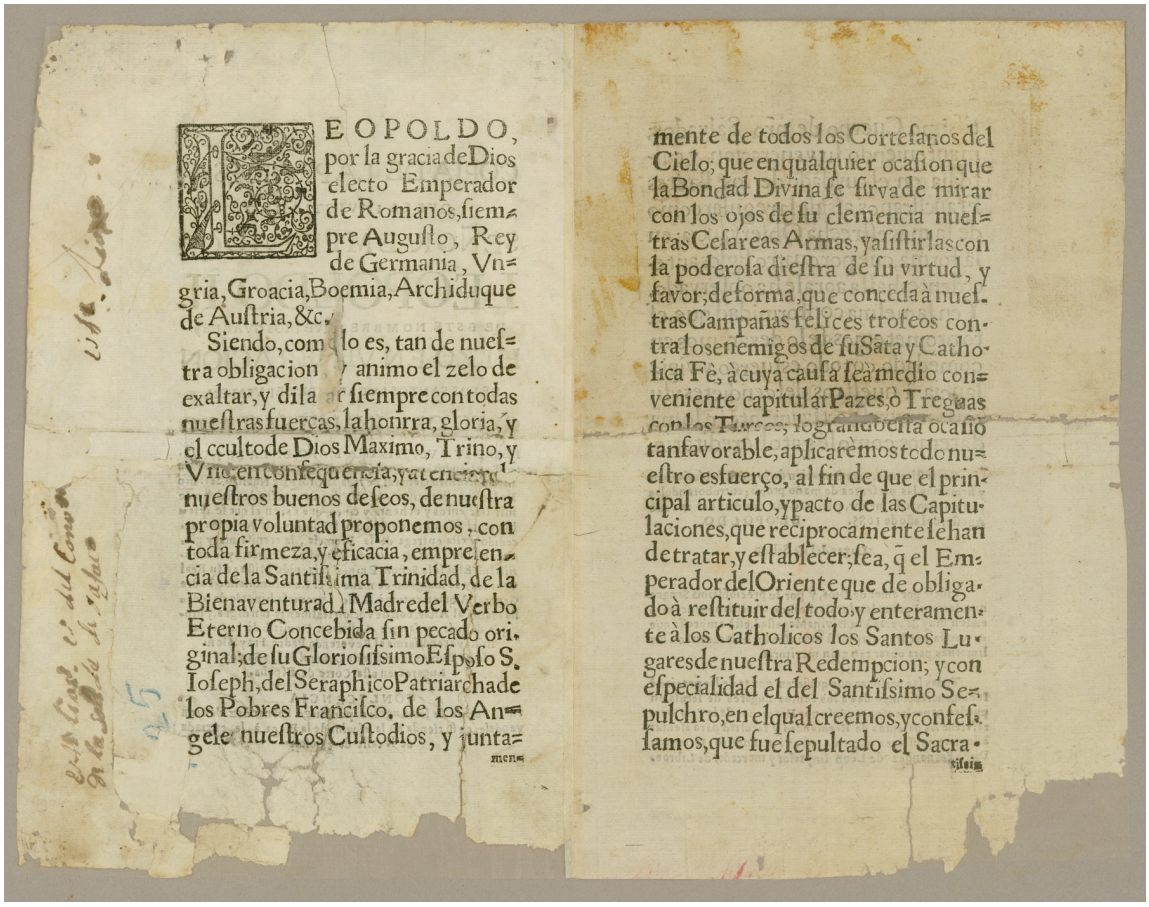
half as much type. Assuming limited supplies of type, setting by form was more economical. The second reason is that most of the books printed in the seventeenth century were foliated (numbered on the recto only) rather than paginated (numbered on recto and verso). Books printed on the continent had by and large moved to pagination by the early seventeenth century. Managing the skeleton form that contains the running header and page numbers is simpler for foliated books than for paginated ones.

[17] On the role of the corrector, see Anthony Grafton. *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*. London: British Library, 2011.

[18] For a much more thorough treatment of book production during the hand press period, see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1995. Conventional wisdom holds that books were stored and sold "in sheets," meaning unbound and possibly unfolded allowing the purchaser to take the work to their preferred binder. From both the documentary record discussed here, that typically includes billing for binding and shows extensive binding materials as part of the printing offices, and from extensive examination of physical copies, it appears that books in New Spain in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century were typically sold already bound. Part of the reason for this may have been the role of the Inquisition in book censorship. If sold in sheets, how would a reader know with certainty that the copy they were purchasing matched the copy approved by the Holy Office? This line of argument is based on the work of Adrian Johns in *The Nature of the Book*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. Wroth also demonstrates that the division of labor between printer and binder was rare outside of large, cosmopolitan markets; see his *Colonial Printer*, p. 191.



LEOPOLDO,
por la gracia de Dios
electo Emperador
de Romanos, siem-
pre Augusto, Rey
de Germania, Vn-
gria, Groacia, Boemia, Archiduque
de Austria, &c.

Siendo, com lo es, tan de nues-
tra obligacion y animo el zelo de
exaltar, y dila r siempre con todas
nuestras fuercas, la honrra, gloria, y
el cculto de Dios Maximo, Trino, y
Vno: en consequencia, y atencion a
nuestros buenos deseos, de nuestra
propia voluntad proponemos, con
toda firmeza, y eficacia, empre en-
cia de la Santissima Trinidad, de la
Bienaventurada Madre del Verbo
Eterno Concebida sin pecado ori-
ginal; de su Glorioſissimo Esposo S.
Ioseph, del Seraphico Patriarcha de
los Pobres Francisco, de los An-
gele nuestros Custodios, y junta-
men-

mente de todos los Cortesanos del
Cielo; que en qualquier ocasion que
la Bondad Divina se sirva de mirar
con los ojos de su clemencia nues-
tras Cesareas Armas, y assistirlas con
la poderosa diestra de su virtud, y
favor; de forma, que conceda à nues-
tras Campañas felices trofeos con-
tra los enemigos de su Sata y Catho-
lica Fè, à cuya causa sea medio con-
veniente capitular Pazes, ò Tregoas
con los Turcos; logrando esta ocasiõ
tan favorable, aplicarèmos todo nu-
estro esfuerço, al fin de que el prin-
cipal articulo, y pacto de las Capitu-
laciones, que reciprocamente se han
de tratar, y establecer; sea, q̃ el Em-
perador del Oriente que de obliga-
do à restituir del todo, y enteramen-
te à los Catholicos los Santos Lu-
gares de nuestra Redempcion; y con
especialidad el del Santissimo Se-
pulchro, en el qual creemos, y confes-
samos, que fue sepultado el Sacra-
tissi-

Illustration 8: Proof sheet of *Copia de la promesa, que el invictissimo [sic] Señor Emperador Leopoldo II. [sic] de este nombre (que Deos [sic] guarde) hizo en veneración [sic] de los Santos Lugares de Gerusalen [sic]*. Puebla: Diego Fernández de León, 1685. The crooked lines indicate that the type was not tightly locked into the chase. There are also numerous orthographic errors.

One can certainly imagine, particularly with today's sophisticated production practices and tracking systems, how each element of the above process could find its way into a bill. However, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many of these elements were grouped and billed together. Paper was always a substantial portion of the cost of any printing job and in the bills that follow, prices ranged from five to ten pesos per ream.

Setting the type and printing the sheets could, of course, be billed separately, and were tasks typically done by different laborers: the compositor setting the type and the beater and puller working the press, applying the ink and heaving at the bar. Nevertheless, they were billed together, since setting the type made up the greatest proportion of the cost, i.e. setting and printing 100 sheets was billed at the same rate as setting and printing 300 sheets since the labor cost of printing the additional 200 sheets was negligible in comparison to setting the type. Only for extended print runs, as in the third example below, would the additional labor cost of printing more sheets be added to the per-sheet price for setting and printing, raising the typical fee of seven pesos to ten.

The numerous steps included in binding the finished sheets—folding, sewing the quires, opening the bolts and attaching the covers—were all billed together, with different prices charged for different types of bindings, such as the most economical limp vellum, the slightly more expensive stiffened boards covered in leather, or the costly and exotic silk or silver bindings. As billing became more refined, as in the fourth example, the costs for the raw materials for these exotic bindings were billed separately. The four bills examined below are drawn from a group of over four hundred collected during research for this project. They were presented to different bodies between 1649 and 1714—the first two to the Inquisition, the third to the Archbishop, and the fourth to the *cabildo*, the city council—and they illustrate an evolution in billing practices, with the first charging only for paper, with itemized invoicing and more sophisticated practices appearing over time.

Bocanegra's *Auto de fe*

On 23 July 1649, Antonio Calderón delivered 400 copies of Matías de Bocanegra's relation of the *Auto de fe* of that year to the Holy Office accompanied by a letter

requesting 104 pesos for the job. Only nineteen years of age at the time, he had just recently been appointed as printer to the Inquisition and Bocanegra's text is one of only three books that have Antonio Calderón's name as part of the imprint.[19] A quarto volume of just over twenty-five sheets, the job required twenty and one half reams of paper, amounting to 10,250 sheets, at the price of five pesos per ream. Calderón's narrative bill also mentions four pesos for binding a missal, thus the bill should have been for 106 pesos, 4 *reales*, [(20.5 reams@5 pesos=102 pesos 4 *reales*)+4=106 pesos 4 *reales*]. It is not clear why he only requested 104 pesos. In the event, however, seventeen days following its submission, the fiscal of the Inquisition authorized payment in the amount of 100 pesos, confident that Calderón would be "assuredly satisfied" with the outcome.[20]

What is notable here, aside from the *fiscal* being stingy, is that Calderón was only billing for the paper required, but not for composing the type, printing the sheets, or for folding and binding after it was printed. As the following examples make clear, the costs for setting and printing the twenty-five and a quarter sheets would have amounted to just over 175 pesos if billed at seven pesos-per-sheet, with the binding adding another five pesos or more, for a total of an additional 180 pesos at the least. That Calderón omitted these charges was likely due to his relationship with the Holy Office. In other words, his title of printer to the Inquisition required him to provide these services at no cost, but that he could recover his costs for paper. This would have been similar to the arrangement that went along with the *cartilla* monopoly that required no-cost printing services for the *Audiencia* and viceroy.

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[19]The other two are a sermon by Bartolomé de Letona (Medina *México* 601) and a university thesis by Francisco Hurtado y Arceniega and were likely his graduation pieces (Medina *México* 600). The imprint of the *Auto de fe*, including his name and title perhaps served to broadcast his appointment as official printer to the Holy Office to the general public.

[20] AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 503, exp. 42, fol. 290r-291v.

At the same time, Calderón only charged for the paper used to produce the 400 copies he delivered to the Inquisition. This differs from two of the invoices that follow, in which the amount of paper billed was sufficient to produce substantially more copies than those indicated in the bills themselves. It is not clear from the surviving documentation how Calderón covered his costs, much less profited from this job. Perhaps his only return was in the prestige value associated with being the Inquisition's official printer.

Auto de fe of 1659

A decade later, on 12 February 1660, when Paula de Benavides presented her bill for the 1659 relation of the *Auto de fe*, some of these arrangements become explicitly clear. The total charges included those for paper, three types of binding, and the cost of tie closures, but explicitly excluded setting and printing the twenty-one sheets the quarto volume entailed, typically billed at 7 pesos per sheet.[21]

The total charges of 151 pesos amounted to just over 50% of the total cost of production, and more than half of that was the charge for the paper. The *papel de Génova* employed, high quality printing paper, was billed at ten pesos per ream, twice the price of the paper used in the 1649 *Auto*. In order to recuperate the 147 pesos in costs for setting and printing the twenty-one sheets, the Holy Office granted Paula de Benavides "free faculty" to print and sell additional copies, and the fiscal noted "this has been very considerable…and [she] has gained much" as a result. Inquisitors Pedro de Medina Rico, Francisco de Estrada y Escobedo and Bernabé de la Higuera y Amarilla used this as sufficient reason to authorize only 100 pesos in payment for Paula de Benavides' costs. Undeterred, Benavides returned to the Holy Office on 26 February and politely but firmly

[21] "En los dos cientos Autos de la Fe que v.s.a. mandó se trajesen al Tribunal, tuvieron de costa sin la impresión…" and "no llevando nada por toda la impresión," AGN Inquisición, vol. 571, exp. 10, fol. 251r and 253v.

insisted that the full fees be covered, presenting copies of Antonio Calderón's 1649 bill in her support. The Inquisitors quickly agreed to pay the additional fifty-one pesos the original invoice had requested.[22]

Item	**Item cost**	**Total**
[Setting and printing 21 sheets]	[7 pesos/sheet]	[147 pesos]
168 *manos* of paper @ 4 *reales/mano*[23]	10 pesos/ream	84 pesos
15 bound in *badanas* (Leather over boards)	1 peso/each	15 pesos
24 bound in [stiff?] vellum	2 *reales*/each	6 pesos
Binding 161 remaining	~0.5 *real*/each	10 pesos
Ties for closures		6 pesos
200 copies of 2 sheet sermon		30 pesos
Total		151 pesos

Table 8: Bill for 1659 *Auto de Fe*

How many additional copies would Benavides have had to produce in order to recover the 147 pesos for setting and printing, keeping in mind that any added copies also required further investments in paper and binding? The average unit cost for each of the Inquisition's 200 copies, with the setting and printing included, was 1 peso 4 *reales*. However, the total cost of production included 21 pesos for thirty-nine exemplars in special bindings, and a two-sheet sermon that was only issued with the Inquisition's 200 copies. The average unit cost of a typical copy with a limp vellum binding and without

[22] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 571, exp. 10, fol. 251r-253v. Although her son, Antonio Calderón held the title of official printer to the Inquisition in 1649, it is notable that in Paula de Benavides' petition to the Inquisition in 1660 she stated that she had produced Bocanegra's *Auto de fe*.

[23] Paper quantities were measured in *cuadernos*, *manos, resmas,* and *balones*. A *cuaderno* was a gathering of 5 sheets; a *mano* was made up of five *cuadernos*, thus 25 sheets, and a *resma* made up of 20 *manos*, or 500 sheets. Depending on the sources, standard reams could vary from 475 to 550 sheets, but Spanish units appear to have standardized on the above measures very early on. These were codified no later than 1680 in the *Cedula real en que Su Majestad manda se observe y guarde la moderación de alquileres de casas y precios de todos géneros comerciables, etc*. Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 27 November 1680, generally known as the *Pragmática de tasas*. See also, Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1995, p. 59. According to the *Diccionario de autoridades* of 1726, a *balón* contained 32 reams, although the Royal Academy's *Diccionario* began to define a *balón* as containing 24 reams from 1770 forward.

the two-sheet sermon was just over 1 peso. To recover costs, much less make a profit, the selling price had to be above 1 peso, and the example below assumes a retail price of 1 peso 4 *reales* per copy.

Each additional 100 required risking an added 42 pesos in paper and 6 pesos 2 *reales* for binding, for a total of 48 pesos 6 *reales*, and the following table traces the break-even point and the potential net profit from the production of 0-300 supplementary copies for a total print run of 200-500, sold at 1 peso 4 reales.

Copies	**Production Cost**	**Gross Income**	**Net Profit**	**Unit Cost**
200 (Inq. order)	298 p.	151 p.	-147 p.	1 p. 4 r.
300	346 p. 2 r.	301 p.	-45 p. 2 r.	1 p. 1 r. 3 g.
350	370 p. 3 r.	376 p.	5 p. 5 r.	1 p. 0 r. 6 g.
400	394 p. 4 r.	451 p.	56 p. 4 r.	1 p.
500	442 p. 6 r.	601 p.	158 p. 2 r.	0 p. 7 r.

Table 9: Break-even calculation for 1659 *Auto de fe*

As should be clear from the table, printing an additional 150 copies for a total print run of 350 would have allowed Paula de Benavides to recover the 147 peso expense for setting and printing the sheets, and afforded her the exiguous profit of 5 pesos 5 *reales*. To achieve any reasonable return, she would have had to print from 200 to 300 extra copies, which would have garnered between 56 pesos 4 *reales* and 158 pesos 2 *reales*, respectively. However, even the break-even quantity of 150 would have required her to risk 73 pesos 1 *real* in materials costs, and 200 and 300 required investing 97 pesos 4 *reales* and 146 pesos 2 *reales*, respectively. The table also shows the declining unit cost, from 1 peso 4 *reales* each for 200, to 7 *reales* each for 500. Benavides thus had an

incentive to produce more, since each incremental exemplar cost less to produce, however, this was hedged by the size of the market, itself limited by the literacy rate. The previous example was for 400 copies of the 1649 *Auto de fe* and it is certainly reasonable to suggest that the 1659 edition discussed here also saw a print run of 400, one that assured the recovery of her investment and a modest profit of 56 pesos 4 *reales* (23% over outlay) for Paula de Benavides. Thus, had Benavides allowed the Inquisition to pay her only 100 pesos, rather than the 151 billed, it would have eliminated virtually all of her return.

Francisco de Florencia's *Estrella del norte de México*

Francisco de Florencia's *Estrella del norte de México* (4º), a significant text in the literature surrounding the Virgin of Guadalupe, appeared from María de Benavides' press in 1688. On 6 November 1687, the *mayordomo* of the Sanctuary of Guadalupe, Gerónimo de Valladolid, requested and received permission from archbishop Aguiar y Seixas to commission 1,000 copies of the work. Just over one year later, on 11 November 1688, Miguel de Ribera Calderón, acting as Benavides' administrator, presented his bill for 1,917 pesos, 2 *reales*.[24]

The 665 pesos charged for printing 65.5 sheets included both setting the type and printing the sheets, although it would make much more sense if the figure had been 655 pesos or 66.5 sheets, resulting in a rate of 10 pesos per sheet. Examining the John Carter Brown copy reveals that a complete copy did in fact require 66.5 sheets, thus the billed cost for composing and printing each sheet was 10 pesos, higher than the 7 pesos for the

[24] AGN, Bienes Nacionales, Vol. 457, exp. 3, s.f.

composition and printing of other texts, but other bills help to clarify that the elevated cost-per-sheet was due to the extended print run of 1,000.[25]

Item	Pesos	*Reales*
160 reams of paper	806	4
Printing 65.5 sheets [sic]	665	
Binding	393	6
Engravings	42	
Binding some in silk	10	
Total	1,917	2

Table 10: Bill for *Estrella del norte de México* (1688)

Paper costs were five pesos per ream, however, the total amount of paper billed far exceeded the amount required to produce 1,000 copies. With 500-sheet reams, the amount of paper billed totaled 80,000 sheets. While there was always some wastage (*quiebras)* due to damage during cartage and by taking proofs prior to printing the full run, 1000 copies of the *Estrella* required only 66,500 sheets, leaving an excess of up to 13,500 sheets, or 27 reams, at a cost of 135 pesos. Even a short ream of 480 sheets would have provided 10,300 excess sheets. These quantities would have afforded an amount of paper sufficient to produce between 154 and 203 additional copies of the *Estrella*, and, as in the previous example, the agreement to print the work may have stipulated that extra copies could be printed in order for Miguel de Ribera to make a profit. A further 150 or 200 copies, sold at 2 pesos each, roughly the cost at which the 1,000 commissioned by

[25] See, for example, AGN Inquisición, Vol. 528, exp. 3, fol. 197r, a bill for 1,000 copies of an edict of 8 March 1713 where printing was billed at 10 pesos per sheet "for being an elevated number." In the late eighteenth century, billing became more precise, see for example Antonio Delgado's bill to the Inquisition for an edict published 14 March 1790. The edict required two sheets, and setting and printing the first 300 impressions of each was billed at 7 pesos, with the remainder billed at 1 peso per hundred. Had that formula been in effect for the 1688 *Estrella del norte de México,* setting and printing would have been billed at 14 pesos per sheet. AGN Inquisición, vol. 843, exp. 8, fol. 375.

the *mayordomo* were billed, would have yielded Ribera 300 or 400 pesos profit, respectively. While one can only hazard conjectures about bonus "profit" copies printed with paper billed to the patron, these arrangements were not unheard of. In 1699, for example, schoolmaster Francisco Camacho commissioned 1,000 copies of Ripalda's catechism, though he only took delivery of 870, leaving the remaining 130 with Miguel de Ribera.[26] On the other hand, one cannot exclude the possibility that whoever received the bill could not perform these calculations, and thus did not realize they were being over-billed.

Illustration 9: Silk binding from the third volume of Juan Martínez de la Parra's *Luz de verdades católicas, y explicación de la Doctrina Cristiana*. México: Juan José Guillena Carrascoso, 1696.

Miguel de Ribera billed just over 3 *reales* for binding each copy, with an additional 10 pesos for those bound in silk. The latter were likely first bound in vellum,

[26] AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 713, exp. 5, fol. 269r-278v.

over which silk was stretched. At just 10 pesos, there could only have been very few, perhaps no more than 10 to 20 copies. In the following case, Gabriel de Ribera charged 4 *reales* each for silk bindings, for example, with additional charges for the materials. Finally, the entry for the engraving does not make clear if it was the fee for engraving the copper plate as well as printing off the 1,000 or more impressions of it, but this seems likely, yielding a billed cost for each image of 3 *reales*.

In the previous example of Paula de Benavides' 1659 *Auto de fe*, while the Inquisition allowed her to print extra copies for profit, she nonetheless would have had to risk her own resources to do so, with no guarantee of sales to recover her expenses. Here, however, providing there was no subterfuge in over billing for paper, the additional paper paid for by the patron allowed for the production of between 150 and 200 supplementary copies at little risk, and, if all copies sold, provided a profit of between 15% and 20% over cost.

Esfera Mexicana

José Gil Ramírez's *Esfera Mexicana* was written to celebrate the birth of Felipe Pedro (1712-1719), the third son of Philip V, the first Bourbon king of Spain and it appeared towards the end of 1714. He presented the manuscript to the *cabildo* of Mexico City for review by mid-October 1714, and they rewarded him with 400 pesos for his effort. They commissioned Gertrudis de Escobar to print it, and Gabriel de Ribera Calderón presented his bill on 21 November 1714:[27]

[27] AHCM, Historia: juras y funerales, Vol. 2282, exp. 3, fol. 50r-55r.

Item	Item cost	Pesos	*Reales*	*Granos*
Printing 17 ½ sheets	7 pesos	120	6	
17 reams of undamaged paper [sic for 12 reams 6 *manos*?]	5 pesos	61	4	
60 bound in silk	4 *reales*	30		
240 bound in vellum	1½ *reales*	45		
Fabric and silk for the covers and linings		26	6	6
Ordinary and silk ribbons [for tie closures]		6	3	
Velvet for the two [bound in Silver]		5	4	
Silver from the smith		34		
Total		329	7	6

Table 11: Bill for the *Esfera Mexicana*

The quarto volume was just over 17 sheets, and here the price for composing each one was only 7 pesos, less then the price charged for the composition of Florencia's *Estrella* but as one would expect for a print run of only 300 copies. However, with 12 reams and 6 *manos* of paper billed for the job, there was enough to produce as many as 350 copies. Again, there may have been some agreement that additional copies could be executed for the printer's profit. The average price per copy, excluding the 60 copies that were bound in silk and the two bound in silver, came to about 1 peso, and an added 50 exemplars would have yielded an equal sum, or a mere 6% margin. The sixty bound in silk were likely for members of the *cabildo* and other notables in the city, while the two bound in silver were to be delivered to the king. Binding a typical copy, one of the 240 in vellum, was charged at a rate of 1½ *reales* each, half the rate for Florencia's *Estrella del norte de México* but still more than the ½ *real* Paula de Benavides charged for simple copies of the 1659 *Auto de fe*. There are two factors at play here, the first is that the *Estrella* consists of almost four times the number of sheets as the *Esfera*, and consequently required more labor to fold the sheets, sew the gatherings, and open the bolts. The other is that the *Estrella del norte de México* was bound in stiff vellum, rather

than limp vellum, adding both to the cost of the materials and to the labor required to attach the text block to the binding. Paula de Benavides' bill for the 1659 *Auto de fe* included two types of vellum bindings, charged at 2 *reales* and ½ *real*, for example. At the same time, the bill for the *Esfera* went into greater detail about the materials used for binding, revealing that the finished books had ribbon closures, some of them with silk; that they had fabric or silk linings on the paste-downs; and that the two bound in silver had these linings in velvet.[28]

A pre-production contract

All of these bills were presented after the fact. Despite the conventional wisdom that Spaniards in the New World notarized everything, in Mexico's Notarial Archive, prior to 1723, with one exception, I have yet to come across a pre-production contract between an author and a printer for producing a Mexican book. The one that I have found is not entirely commensurate, being a contract from September 1723 between printer José Bernardo de Hogal and Juan Antonio de Mendoza for the production of annual almanacs. In other words, the contract was not for a specific book, but for annual installments of almanacs in manuscript.[29] Agreements to produce texts, in seventeenth-century Mexico at least, appear to have been made through verbal agreement, pending the presentation of the final bill. In June of 1666, for example, Gregorio Martín del Guijo appealed to the *Abad* of the Congregation de San Pedro for 9 pesos to pay the Calderóns for edicts that he had arranged "in confidence" with them, saying he "doesn't want them to complain" of non-payment following their delivery.[30]

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[28] The technical term for such linings is *doublure* although the latter usually refers to leather linings.
[29] AGNot. Esc. Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, esc 235 vol. 1465 fol. 78v-81v
[30] AHSS, Congregación de San Pablo, leg. 32, exp. 10, fol. 1r.

The absence of pre-production contracts in Mexico, while they were fairly common in Spain, suggests a high degree of trust between the parties involved.[31] Had there been prior written agreement with the Inquisition, Paula de Benavides would have had recourse to it in 1660 when the Holy Office offered only two thirds of the amount she had billed. That Benavides was able to achieve a successful outcome without clear documentation speaks volumes about the type of leverage she had at her disposal, on the one hand, and the Holy Office's concern for its honor and reputation following Medina Rico's *visita* on the other.[32]

In his *Sintagma de arte tipográfica*, Juan Caramuel warned of the subterfuges printers could employ, and counseled authors on ways to prevent themselves from being defrauded. One of these subterfuges was printers' production of more copies than had been agreed to.[33] From the bills discussed above, it appears that there were informal agreements that allowed for extra copies for the printer's profit, but a 1651 contract from Peru provides an example of an author following Caramuel's advice and illustrates some of the provisions a pre-production contract could include.

On 12 October 1651, Antonio de la Calancha contracted with Jorge López de Herrera to produce 400 copies of the second volume of his *Crónica moralizada.* The contract specified the following terms: Work was to begin on 15 October 1651 and continue until the volume was finished. Calancha would provide seventeen *manos* of paper (425 sheets) for each sheet to be printed. Composition was to be charged at a rate of 12 pesos per sheet, with the body of the text set in *lectura* (12 pt.) and the marginal

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[31] For Spanish book contracts, see Pérez Pastor. "Impresores y libreros de Madrid. Documentos referentes a ellos," pp. 211-212.
[32] Richard E. Greenleaf. "The Great Visitas of the Mexican Holy Office 1645-1669," pp. 399-420.
[33] Juan Caramuel. *Sintagma de arte tipográfica*. Ed. Pablo Andrés Escapa. Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004, pp. 135-143.

notes set in *breviario* (9 pt.). What would normally require 4 sheets set in *atanasia* (13 pt.) would instead be set in 3 sheets of *lectura.* Calancha was required to designate a person to collect the proofs, and López de Herrera agreed to do all the corrections indicated and to deliver 1 sheet per day (i.e. print all 400 copies of one sheet), if proofs were punctually corrected. "*Defectos,*" that is, uncorrected printed sheets, were to be returned to Calancha, who also agreed to supply 1 ream of "*papel quebrado,*" damaged paper, at 3 pesos for printing the errata sheet, and one ream for proofs. López de Herrera was to return all excess paper to Calancha. Finally, the two agreed that future transactions could be conducted with simple receipts, not requiring a notary, much as in the Mexican examples above.[34]

With the terms of the bill outlined above and some bibliographical information about the volume, it is possible to do some calculations and come up with an approximation of the total production cost for the *Crónica moralizada*, funding for which had been raised by the Augustinian order. A folio volume of 432 pages, the *Crónica* required 108 sheets per copy. With a print run of 400, the total paper required was 43,200 sheets, or 86.4 reams. At 5 pesos per ream, likely a very low estimate, the paper cost 432 pesos; at 10 pesos per ream the cost would have been 864 pesos. Setting and printing the 108 sheets at 12 pesos per sheet cost 1,296 pesos, for a total of 1,728 to 2,160 pesos, exclusive of folding and binding. Thus, each copy cost from 4 pesos 3 *reales* to 5 pesos 3 *reales* to produce and if one adds in binding costs the figure approaches 5 to 6 pesos per copy.

With Calancha supplying the paper, and tight control over both proofs and excess paper, the only area for the printer to make a profit was the charge for setting and printing

[34] AGN (Lima) Francisco Holguín 1651, (Prot. No. 941), fol. 766 and 1652 (Prot. No. 942), fol. 721v. I am grateful to Carlos Gálvez-Peña for sharing his transcription of this document with me.

the sheets. At 12 pesos per sheet, the charges were substantially higher than the 7 pesos billed in the examples from Mexico discussed above and even above the 10 pesos charged for the *Estrella*. At 7 pesos, the charge would have been only 756 pesos, but billed at 12 pesos, this amounted to an additional charge of 540 pesos, or about 31% of the overall bill. In Lawrence Wroth's analysis of an invoice for a pamphlet Benjamin Franklin produced in 1761, he found that he retained approximately 35% of the billed cost as net profit. Wroth benefited from access to Franklin's list of charges and wages, that included a 10% premium on the cost of paper and the labor costs for pressmen and compositors.[35] The first of these would not have applied for the *Crónica*, since Calancha provided the paper, and, lacking additional information, labor costs are impossible to calculate, however, despite time and distance the profit margins appear roughly comparable. In the Mexican cases discussed above, however, estimated profits ranged from 6% for the *Esphera Mexicana* to as much as 23% for the 1659 Auto de fe.

While the terms of the contract allow for some understanding of the *Crónica*'s production, some questions remain. According to the terms of the agreement, at one sheet per day beginning on 15 October 1651, the *Crónica* should have been finished by early 1652, however, it did not appear until 1653. From the licenses in the preliminaries, it appears that work did not actually begin until late June 1652, and was finally completed only in early August 1653. The *Crónica* was the last book to appear from López de Herrera, and he may have died prior to the book's completion. In 1652, a "Maestro [Gerónimo?] de Contreras, maestro impresor" signed a contract with Calancha for printing the *Crónica* with precisely the same terms as had been agreed to by López de Herrera.[36] It is possible that Gerónimo de Contreras took over production of the *Crónica*

[35] Wroth. *The Colonial Printer*, pp. 180-182.
[36] AGN (Lima) Francisco Holguín, 1652, (Prot. No. 942), fol. 721v.

and issued it under López de Herrera's name. A Gerónimo de Contreras published one book in 1654, and then thereafter works by José de Contreras appeared intermittently through 1680, at which point he seems to have been firmly established and produced a steady stream of imprints until his death in the early eighteenth century.

The Mexican bills, previously discussed, evidence a gradually evolving sophistication in their structures, and with that precision, a reduction of risk to the printers. The following two sections analyze three bookstore inventories and a record of debts, and understanding the costs involved in producing books will aid in their interpretation.

THE PRINTING OFFICES AND BOOKSTORES

Bills of lading, lists presented to the Inquisition, post-mortem inventories and catalogs of individuals' libraries have long been staples for historians of the book in Latin America. Typically, however, their use has been to somehow divine the intellectual climate of the age or delve into the mind of the reader or collector.[37] The documents discussed in this section provide a different picture, one that reveals merchants discussing merchandise. They result from two different types of sources; nevertheless, together they provide a good picture of the state of the two printing houses and bookstores in 1687. The first is the distribution of Paula de Benavides' property to María de Benavides, her share of the

[37] For studies of bills of lading, see Irving Leonard. *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. For a more recent study, see Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez. *Negocio e intercambio cultural*. On the use of post-mortem inventories, see Carlos Alberto González Sánchez. "Cultura escrita y emigración al Nuevo Mundo: Nueva España en los siglos XVI y XVII." In: Carmen Castañeda, *Del Autor al lector*. For studies of bookstore inventories, see Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, Natalia Maillard Álvarez. *Orbe Tipográfico: el Mercado del Libro en la Sevilla de la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XVI*. Somonte-Cenero, Gijón. Trea. 2003 and Enrique González González and Víctor Gutiérrez Rodríguez. "Libros en venta en el México de Sor Juana y de Sigüenza, 1655-1660." In: Carmen Castañeda. *Del autor al lector*.

estate that was divided between María and her brother, Diego Calderón de Benavides.[38] While the two appear to have managed the business jointly, all indications seem to be that María de Benavides inherited the San Agustín press and bookstore, which, along with other property and cash, amounted to a total of 19,873 pesos and 7.5 *reales*.[39] Diego Calderón de Benavides would have inherited property and cash of equal value and may have received some of the profits the press and bookstore generated.[40]

The second document is a partnership agreement between María de Benavides and her son, Miguel de Ribera, in which he promised to work for his mother at the Empedradillo press for a period of six years, sharing equally in all profits or losses. The inventory lists the property María de Benavides brought to the partnership, and does not represent fully the contents of the printing house and bookstore.[41] The total value of the assets María de Benavides contributed was 3,232 pesos and 3.5 *reales*, and this only represents one half of the total value of the printing office and bookstore, with Miguel de Ribera contributing the other half.[42]

The document structures are similar; both are quite orderly, moving from un-itemized volumes in folio, quarto, octavo, etc.; to specialized religious works, followed by itemized titles (in the Calderón inventory), ephemeral pieces, and materials related to printing and binding, concluding with household property. Only rarely does an entry appear out of order. In contrast to the Inquisition inventories, which give author and title, and occasionally format and place of publication but not quantity or price, in these lists,

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[38] AGNot, Esc. 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 762, fol. 47v-56v.

[39] Diego Calderón de Benavides inherited the houses Paula de Benavides owned on Calle Monterilla. AGNot, Esc. Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 762, fol. 47v-56v. As is typical, the calculations by the notary are slightly incorrect.

[40] See for example the division of property of Gertrudis de Escobar, widow of Miguel de Rivera, AGN Civil, vol. 2046, exp. 5.

[41] AGNot, Esc. 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 763, fol. 173v-175r.

[42] AGNot, Esc 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 762, fol. 203v-209v.

volumes were entered by format, quantity, average price, and total value, with less concern for author and title. While a detailed indication of titles would certainly be preferable, the anonymous listing is in itself interesting, and reflects booksellers evaluating merchandise rather than the Inquisition's obsessive concern with intellectual content.[43]

	Calderón Inventory		**Ribera Inventory**	
General	1581p1.5	26.32%	1941p4	60.07%
Religious Works	545p	9.07%	182p4	5.64%
Itemized Titles	1149p6.5	19.14%		
Ephemera	315p5.5	5.25%	167p	5.16%
In Sheets	836p	13.91%		
Devotional images	100p	1.66%	2p	>0.01%
Press/Binding/Paper	1479p2	24.62%	989p3.5	30.61%
Other	1822p	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total	7828p7.5		3232p3.5	
Variance[44]	(-134p)		+148p	

Table 12: Summary comparison of the Calderón and Ribera Inventories

In the Ribera inventory, there appear no works listed by author and title, simply genre and format, nor, it would appear, books "in sheets," e.g. unbound books. Further, un-itemized titles in the Ribera inventory make up slightly over 60% of the total value, while in the Calderón inventory itemized titles and imprints "in sheets," combined with the general stock, make up 59.37%. Thus it appears that in the division of property between María de Benavides and Miguel de Ribera, the latter were left unclassified and listed simply as un-itemized general stock.

[43] See also Hipólito de Ribera's purchase of a library in 1655 which records simply "1,100 small and large books by different authors…" AGNot, Esc. 336, Gabriel López Ahedo, vol. 2230, fol. 48r-49r.
[44] This figure represents the difference between the notary's calculation and this author's.

	Calderón Inventory			Ribera Inventory		
Format	Quantity	Average Price	Total Value	Quantity	Average Price	Total Value
2º	386	1p	386p	271	1p	271p
4º	1727	4r	863p4r	1538	4r	769p
8º and smaller	1574	1.5r	295p1r			
12º, 16º, "little books and *artes*"				3506	[2r]	876p4r
24º				100	2r	25p
"Little books"	195	1.5r	36p4.5r			
Total	3882		1581p1.5r	5415		1941p4r

Table 13: Un-itemized titles by format

Putting the two lists of un-itemized titles side-by-side, as in Table 13, reveals some interesting differences. First, of course, is to note the different formats and how they are entered. One can only assume that the inventory of the Ribera bookstore, which omits octavo volumes, includes them under the format of duodecimo and smaller, as it is almost inconceivable that no volumes in octavo existed in the Ribera shop. Likewise, it appears likely that the "little books" mentioned in the Calderón inventory correspond to the 24mo volumes listed for the Riberas. Next is the difference in valuation of books in formats of octavo and smaller. In the Calderón inventory, these smaller formats were appraised with an average price of only 1.5 *reales*, while at the Ribera shop, they were valued slightly higher, at 2 *reales*. While 0.5 *reale* appears to be an insignificant amount, the tremendous quantity of 3,606 small format volumes in the Ribera inventory results in an additional 225 pesos 3 *reales* in valuation in favor of Ribera. The comparison is slightly deceptive, however, as the Calderón inventory includes 4,342 itemized volumes of 10 or 11 titles, discussed below, and there is no corresponding entry in the Ribera list. Moreover, most of these 4,342 volumes are in octavo or smaller and the average value of these volumes is slightly more than 2 *reales* per volume. Adding these 4,342 to the

comparison brings both the average valuation and the distribution of formats between the two bookshops more in line with one another.

Emma Rivas Mata calculates that between 1539 and 1821 Mexico City imprints were produced in the following proportions: 30% in folio; 50% in quarto; 14% in octavo; less that 0.5% in duodecimo (8 titles); and just over 1% in 16mo (20 titles). An additional 15 (1%) were produced in double folio. For the Calderón press, Rivas Mata found proportional production of 18.88% in folio, 15.23% in octavo, and 1% in 16mo, from which we can infer that their production of quartos was proportionately 64.89% at a maximum, though likely lower.[45]

	Mexico City	**Calderón Output**	**Calderón Inventory**	**Ribera Inventory**
2º	30%	18.88%	4.7%	5%
4º	50%	[64.89%]	24.7%	28.4%
8º	14%	15.23%	39.7%	
12º	0.5%		>0.1%	64.7%
16º	1%	1%	28.5%	
24º			5%	1.8%

Table 14: Mexico City and Calderón Press output, by format, compared to Calderón and Rivera inventories.

Comparing the proportional output of Mexico City printers, that of the Calderón press, and the respective inventories (with the 4,342 itemized titles from the Calderón inventory included), as in Table 14, is revealing. The first observation to be made is of the successive reduction in the percentage of folio volumes, and quartos as well, contrasted with the proportional increase in formats of octavo and below. While 80% of

[45] Emma Rivas Mata. "Impresores y mercaderes de libros…" In: Carmen Castañeda. *Del autor al lector,* p. 96-98. Rivas Mata consulted the bibliographies of Medina, León and others for her study, rather than consult the imprints themselves, and many entries by these bibliographers fail to note format. Thus, the 64.89% figure likely overstates the number of quartos produced by the Calderóns, though to what degree it is impossible to determine.

Mexico City imprints were of folio or quarto, and a maximum of 83.77% of the Calderóns' output were of these two formats, in the Calderón inventory folios and quartos comprise only 39.4% and in the Ribera inventory a mere 33.4%. Conversely, the proportional output of formats of octavo and smaller was, for Mexico City, 15.5% and for the Calderóns, 16.23%. Contrasting these with the Calderón and Ribera inventories, one finds proportions of 68.2% and 66.5%, respectively, in formats of octavo or smaller. Keeping in mind that throughout the period the vast majority of texts that circulated in New Spain were imported, a large percentage of the smaller format volumes may not have been produced in Mexico City at all, but were instead introduced from Spain.

In a 1684 shipment of books to Juan de Ribera and Paula de Benavides, for example, there is an entry for 4,000 "*Catecismos of Ripalda*" which may have referred to an earlier edition of the 32mo edition of the same work conserved in Mexico's National Archive.[46] In either case, small format volumes often survive with less frequency than large folios owing to their more ephemeral nature. However, of the itemized titles discussed below, there are a remarkable 1,913 works in 16mo that were printed in Mexico. Each of these possibilities no doubt contributes, to a greater or lesser degree, to skew the proportional distribution of formats. These small format volumes were cheap to produce and cheap to sell, and perhaps suggest a larger literate population than is often assumed.[47]

[46] AGN Mexico, Inquisición, Vol. 720, Exp. 13, fol. 238r-323r.

[47] Patricia Seed found that 16% of women and 46% of men possessed the most rudimentary literacy, the ability to sign their names. See: Patricia Seed. "Marriage Promises and the Value of a Woman's Testimony in Colonial Mexico." In: *Sign*. Vol. 13, No. 2 (Winter, 1988), p. 272.

	Calderón Inventory			Ribera Inventory		
Breviaries	Quantity	Price	Total Value	Quantity	Price	Total
"Media Cámara"[48]	8	12p	96p	1	12p	12p
In 2 volumes				1	15p	15p
4º, in 2 volumes	3	15p	45p			
8º, in 2 volumes	9	10p	90p	2	10p	20p
"Old"	6	2p	12p			
12º, in 4 volumes	3	10p	30p			
Subtotal	29		273 p	4		47p
Diurnos						
8º	4	4p	16p	3	3p	9p
12º	28	2p	56p	3	2p	6p
24º	2	1p4r	3p			
32º	33	1p	33p			
Subtotal	67		108p	6		15p
Semana Santa and collections of Sermons						
Semana Santa in 12º	31	1p4r	46p4r			
Semana Santa in 24º	5	1p	5p			
"Breviarios…de sermonados" in 12º	2	2p	4p			
"Sermonero Grande"				2	2p	4p
"Sermonero" in 24º				10	1p	10p
"Sermonero" of Saint Dominic				4	6r	3p
"Calenda" of Saint Dominic	1	2p	2p	2	1p4	3p
"Calenda Romana"				1	4p	4p
Subtotal	39		57p4r	19		24p
Books of Hours						
8º				5	2p4r	12p4t
12º	55	1p4r	82p4r			
"With rubrication in Latin"				17	2p	34p
24º	9	1p	9p			
"With rubrication in Spanish"	49	1p	49p			
Subtotal	113		140p4r	22		46p4
Grand Total	246		575p	51		132p4r

Table 15: Specialized, high-value religious texts

[48] This phrase does not appear in any of the specialized lexicons, and remains somewhat opaque. One can only assume, based on the valuation, that they were large format, and "media cámara" may refer to a text printed in double columns.

The second set of entries in both inventories, presented in Table 15, corresponds to specialized religious works, such as Breviaries and books of Hours, which, due to their specific nature, format, craftsmanship or other reasons were individually valued above, often well above, the average price per volume of the general stock. With these texts, two things stand out. First is the differential in price when compared to the general, un-itemized stock; Breviaries, for example, were valued at 10 to 15 pesos, while general stock was valued at a mere 1.5 *reales* to 1 peso. The least expensive octavos, five *Hours* in the Ribera inventory were valued at 2 pesos 4 *reales*, more than 13 times the value of a run of the mill octavo in general stock at 1.5 *reales*. The lowest priced of these, such as the 24mo *Hours* on the Calderón inventory, was valued at 1 peso, four times the average price of a 24mo in the general stock. These were most likely imported from the Plantin firm in Antwerp that held the monopoly on the *Nuevo rezado*, the revised doctrinal texts emanating from the Council of Trent.[49]

Table 16 presents the itemized titles found in the Calderón inventory. There is no corresponding entry in the Ribera inventory. Along with the predictable, if not obligatory presence of Nebrija's *Artes*, in boards and vellum, we find commentaries on Nebrija by Diego López, and also Luís de Granada. Striking, however, are the large quantities of a title by Palafox (829) and by the "Bishop of Puebla," (1,913) assumed here to be one or two titles by Ignacio de Asenjo y Crespo, *limosnero* for Bishop Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz (1676-1699).

[49] Fermín de los Reyes Gómez. "Los libros de Nuevo Rezado y la imprenta española en el siglo XVIII." In: *Revista general de información y documentación*. Vol. 9, No. 1, 1999, pp. 117-158.

Title	Quantity	Price	Total Value
"*Libritos*" of Palafox	829	1.5r	155 p 3.5r.
Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Manual de sacerdotes*, Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1664. (Medina *México* 924). 8º.			
"*Libritos*" of the Bishop of Puebla	1913	1 r.	239 p. 1r.
Ignacio de Asenjo y Crespo, *Ejercicio practico de la voluntad de dios y compendio de la mortificación.* México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1682. (Medina *México* 1239); and/or Ignacio de Asenjo y Crespo, *Compendio de meditaciones para la oración mental*. México: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1681. (Medina *México* 1219). Both in 16º.			
"*Espejo de cristal fino*."	435	1 r .	54 p. 3r.
Pedro Espinosa, *Espejo de cristal fino y antorcha que aviva el alma.* Unknown edition, though likely in 16º, first published by Paula de Benavides in 1643.			
"Meditaciones de Becerra"	269	2 r.	67 p. 2r.
Luis Becerra Tanco, *Felicidad de México en el principio y milagroso origen que tubo el Santuario de la Virgen María N. Señora de Guadalupe.* Unknown edition, though t he second Mexican edition was done by Paula de Benavides in 1675. 4º.			
"Misterios de la Misa"	32	3 r.	12 p.
Melchor Huelamo, *Epitome de los misterios de la misa…* 4to. Unknown edition, though the first, complete, edition was published in Cuenca 1595. María de Benavides published an edition of the *Epitome* in 1693. Or Silvestre Fernández, *Breve tratado de la explicación de los sagrados misterios que contienen las ceremonias de la misa…* 8vo.			
"*Arte de Antonio [de Nebrija]*" in boards.	137	5 r.	85 p. 5r.
"*Arte de Antonio [de Nebrija]*" in vellum	280	4 r.	140 p.
Antonio de Nebrija, *Aelii Antonii Nebrisensis, De institutione grammaticae*. Unknown edition, 8º.			
"*Oratorios*" of Fray Luis in boards	280	3 r.	105 p.
Luis de Granada. *Libro de la Oración y Meditación en el cual se trata de la consideración de los principales Misterios de nuestra Fe*. 8º			
"*Vocabulario Mexicano*"	91	3 p.	273 p.
Pedro de Arenas, *Vocabulario manual de las Lenguas Castellana y Mexicana*. México, Viuda de Bernardo Calderón 1683. 8º.			
"*Diego López y Cuartos*"	72	[1.5 r.]	13 p. 4r.
Diego López, *Breve explicación del Libro cuarto de Antonio Nebrisense, a quien llaman Sintaxis ... : contiene ciertas adiciones y un breve tratado de Calendas…* Paula de Benavides did editions in 1650 and 1660, while the another edition appeared in 1685 from the Widow of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 8º.			
"*Oficios de Corpus*" (used)	4	12 r.	4 p. 4r.
Oficio de la Sacratísima festividad del Corpus Christi y su octava: con algunos ejercicios espirituales… 12º.			
Total	4342		1149 p. 6.5 r.

Table 16: Itemized titles from the Calderón Inventory

Palafox's *Manual de Sacerdotes* is an 8vo volume of just 12 leaves. Printed in 1664, what is surprising is that 829 copies remained on hand in 1687. Even more so is that of an unknown but certainly large initial print-run, just two copies have been located,

held by the National Library of Chile and the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island.[50]

The other large stock of a title (or titles) is Ignacio de Asenjo y Crespo's *Compendio de meditaciones para la oración mental* or *Ejercicio practico de la voluntad de dios* printed in 1681 and 1682, respectively, both 16mo, printed by Paula de Benavides.[51] It is possible that the entry refers to both titles collectively. Despite a mere 1% of the Calderóns' output being in 16mo, that 1,913 copies of these two titles remained on hand, five and six years after they were printed, suggests an enormous initial print run.

The most striking revelation from this inventory is the valuation of Pedro de Arenas' *Vocabulario Mexicano* at 3 pesos, substantially more than other octavo volumes, and indeed, even the folios. Arenas' *Vocabulario* was the most frequently reprinted Náhuatl text during the colonial period, and is the equivalent of a modern day traveler's phrasebook. Taking into account its valuation and format, it is only comparable to the specialized religious volumes listed in Table 15. If the initial print run had been 500 copies, using the billing records above, and a high estimate of 10 pesos per ream of paper and 10 pesos for setting and printing each sheet, considering the difficulty of setting the indigenous language text, a 160 peso investment for this publication would have grossed 1,500 pesos. Finally, not appearing in the table are two entries for 102 and 2.5 reams of "*impresos*" valued at a total of 836 pesos, or 8 pesos per ream. Bibliographers have not identified any titles produced by the Calderón press in 1687; these entries may refer to books kept "in sheets," i.e. books left unbound, at least two titles and possibly more, but

[50] It is of course possible that an intervening edition has not been registered by bibliographers, nonetheless, if that were the case such a large number in stock with no surviving copies is all the more remarkable.
[51] José Toribio Medina *México* 1219 and 1239.

also may refer to ephemera printed by the Calderóns prior to 1687 or the *comedias* that frequently appeared on bills of lading.

Ephemera	Ribera Inventory		
Santos Nuevos, "dorados"	5 *cuadernos*	12r	7p4
Coplas, Oficios, y Misas	10 reams, 9 *manos*	12p/ream	125p2
Ofrecimientos de la Antigua y Bien Morir	4 reams	[12p/ream]	48p
Cuadernillos de la Comunión	120 *cuadernillos*	1r	15p
*Bades (*Vades*)*	7 dozen	22r/dozen	19p2
		Total	167p

Table 17: Ephemera listed on the Rivera inventory

The category of "ephemera," presented in Tables 17 and 18, comprises the works made up of one or two sheets, evaluated by the "*cuaderno*", the bundle (*atado*), the *mano*, or the *resma* (ream), along with various *Oficios*, and annual almanacs.[52] Of note are the c*artillas*, both from Spain and from Genoa, reflecting the fact that the Calderón family held the monopoly not simply for printing *cartillas* in Mexico, but for the sale of *cartillas* imported to New Spain.

The three entries for *Pronósticos*, the annual almanacs that had been produced from the early seventeenth century if not earlier raise some interesting questions. Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú produced no fewer than thirteen almanacs between 1682 and 1704, judging by licenses granted by the Holy Office, though none have been registered by bibliographers. Likewise, Juan de Avilés produced no fewer than eight almanacs between 1685 and 1695, again, none registered by bibliographers. Most interesting, however, is the entry for the almanac by "Miguel Enrico Romano."

[52] See Juan B. Iguíniz *Léxico bibliográfico*. México: UNAM. 1987. pp. 85-86, 193, 263.

Ephemera	Calderón Inventory		
Requiem Masses	25 *cuadernos*	6r	18p6
Requiem Masses "in two sheets"	131		10p
"*Cartillas de España*"	4 reams	6p	24p
"*Cartillas de Génova*"	2 reams	10p	20p
"*Santos Nuevos*"	30 *cuadernos*	4r	15p
"*Cuadernos de baptismos*"	143 *cuadernos*	1/2r	8p7.5
"*Sermones y Cuadernos*" 4º	12 bundles		15p
"*Cuadernos*" 8º	16 *cuadernos*		20p
Oficios de San Gabriel	180		10p
Oficios de San Justo y Pastor	290		18p
Ofrecimientos del Calvario	220		10p
"Offerings"	1 ream		10p
Ofrecimientos de Santa Teresa	3 reams 6 *manos*		20p
"*Guiones y muestras de escribir*"	389		11p
"*Bades*" (*Vades*)	6 dozen	22r/dozen	16p4
"*Pronósticos de Cantú*" [Br. Antonio Sebastian de Aguilar Cantú]	45 dozen	12r/dozen	67p4
"*Pronósticos de Avilés*" [Juan de Avilés]	6 dozen	[14r/dozen]	10p4
"[*Pronósticos de] Romano*" [Miguel Enrico Romano]	6 dozen	[14r/dozen]	10p4
		Total	315 p 5.5 r

Table 18: Ephemera listed on the Calderón inventory

The almanac in question was printed by the widow of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, Jerónima Delgado, and was denounced to the Inquisition for having been published under a pseudonym, a practice prohibited by the Holy Office. Juan de Avilés, whose own almanac was printed by the Calderóns that year, denounced it.[53] Denunciations of texts have most frequently been approached from the perspective of ideological content and religious orthodoxy. It may be better to ask not who or what was being denounced, but who was making the accusation and why. Other cases of denunciations involving

[53] As with the *cartilla* issue of 1641, the Calderón and Ribera families may have been using the institution of the Inquisition to keep their competitors in line. AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 670 is almost entirely dedicated to licensing of annual almanacs, conserving some in manuscript whose printed versions no longer survive. The denunciation of Miguel Enrico Romano appears in Exp. 52 and 53.

author/publisher relationships may reveal more about how the guild-like system functioned during the viceregal period.

Images	
Joined and larger than folio	31
Double folio	382
2º	394
4º	2,300 [2398?]
Total: 3204	100p

Table 19: Images on the Calderón inventory

The final set of entries refers to devotional images, presented in Table 19. The Calderón inventory listed a total of 3,204 images, ranging in size from quarto to double folio or larger. In contrast, the Ribera inventory counted a mere 31 images of Our Lady of Guadalupe, valued at a total price of 2 pesos. As these images of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the Ribera inventory were evaluated at approximately twice the value of the average image on the Calderón inventory (heavily weighted to small formats) it appears likely that these Guadalupe images were larger format prints in folio or larger.

Reviewing the entries for materials related to the press presented in Tables 20 and 21 suggests that both bookshops were doing in-house binding, particularly the Ribera shop. In fact, with only two entries that may refer to books "in sheets" it appears that most of the texts produced by both presses were bound at the time of printing.[54]

While the Ribera presses, purchased in 1677, were valued at 1,260 pesos in 1687 (including the coats of arms and likely unmentioned type), the Calderóns'—including coats of arms and type—were evaluated at only 875 pesos. The Calderóns had ordered a new press and type from Flanders in 1657, at an unstated price, thus the relatively low valuation given to their press in 1687 may suggest its greater age and likely much worn type.[55] Reflecting on the over three thousand religious images listed above, it is not

[54] Lawrence Wroth finds a similar pattern for British North America in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century, *The Colonial Printer*, p. 191.
[55] AGNot, Esc. 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4601, fol. 16v-17v.

surprising to find a *tórculo*, or roller press used to produce copper plate engravings, listed in the Calderón inventory. The Ribera inventory contains extensive binding supplies: registers, clasps, gilding tools, book presses and sewing stands, etc. suggesting that it was also a very active bindery.

Calderón Press, Binding Supplies, Paper			
Papel pintado, literally, "painted paper" possibly referring to marbled sheets used for end-papers.	4 reams	3p4	14p
Papel escrito, viejo, old paper that has been written on, used for backing the spines of books before binding or for stiffening boards.	4 reams	3p	12p
Atados de vitelas negras y iluminadas de asiento. Bundles of fine vellum. *Negra* and *iluminada de asiento* may refer to previous use as a writing support.	14	2p	28p
Atados de vitelas grande negras. Bundles of large, fine vellum skins, again, perhaps recycled from previous use.	3	3p	9p
Medios pliegos del cuadernillo. Half-sheets of *cuadernillo*, which likely refers to double-folio sized sheets (half Quaternion)	5	20p	100p
[Papel de] Marquilla, extra-folio sized paper.	17 *manos*		6p
Papel Bueno, good paper	2.5 reams	[9p3t (abt)]	23p4
Papel quebrado, "broken" or ruined paper, showing damage from being the outer reams in a tied bundle, for example.	2 reams	[5p]	10p
Papel Blanco, good paper.	3 reams	6p	18p
Pergaminos, skins of vellum	3 dozen	10r / dozen	3p6
Sorts: *Lectura* (12pt), *Atanasia* (13pt), *Texto* (14pt), *Paragón* (18pt), *Peticano* (26pt), *Gran Canon* (42pt)	23 cases	20p	460p
Printing Presses	2	[150p]	300p
Tórculo, roller press	1	50p	50p
Escudos, coats of arms.	500		125p
Punzones, tools for binding decoration	100		8p
New type coming from Spain			412p
		Total	1479p2

Table 20: Materials related to the press, binding and production supplies from the Calderón inventory

Ribera Press, Binding Supplies, Paper			
Pergaminos, skins of vellum	3 dozen	10r/dozen	3p6
Cartones de papel ordinario, paste-board for binding	308	1r	38p4
Cartones de [papel de] marquilla, large paste-boards for binding	225	1.5r	42p1.5
Registros y Botones, ribbons and buttons for bookmarks, "registers".	40	2r	10p
Petaquilla de Manecillas viejas, a small box of clasps for closing books	1	4p	4p
Panecillos de tinta de china, small loaves of ink from China	30		1p
Abecedario de fierros de doran, collection of letters for gilding bindings	1	4p	4p
Prensas con sus Inpeñios y lengüetas, book presses for binding with their sewing-stands and knives	2	[6p]	12p
Piedra de batir y dos mazos de fierro, beating stone with two iron hammers	1	10p	10p
Fierros de dorar y herramienta, tools for gilding bindings.	130		20p
Piedra y Moleta de colores, mortar and pestle for making ink.	1	1p	1p
Printing presses (2) with emblems, letters and other necessary items valued: 1,260p, though only ½ is put up as it is split between Miguel and María			630p
½ of the value of the letters coming from Spain. 412p			206p
		Total	989p3. 5r

Table 21: Materials related to the press, binding and production supplies from the Ribera inventory

The final set of entries on the Calderón inventory give an indication of the family's household. Clearly on a sound financial footing, the family was in much better economic shape in 1687 than it had been in 1640 when Bernardo Calderón died and Paula de Benavides pled poverty in asking to retain the monopoly on *cartillas.*[56] It is possible that the 400 pesos for a slave listed on the inventory referred to one with special skills, perhaps even a literate slave who worked at the press.[57]

[56] AGN, General de Parte, vol. 8, exp. 74, fol. 51.

[57] The question of slave literacy is a vexing one; however, literate slaves were not unknown. In AGNot, Esc 556, Gaspar Rueda, vol. 3840, one finds Juan de Villasis, putting his slave Juan de Villlasis, aged 8, with Pedro Muñoz de Arce, master of the arts of reading and writing, to lean how to read, write and count.

Calderón Inventory		
Pearl bracelet	1	70p
Silver plates	6	88p
Green blanket	1	3p
Colored dust ruffle	2	10p
A small bed of *granadillo*, a fine-grained hardwood native to Mexico	1	6p[58]
Arm chair	1	15p
Carpet	1	50p
Cash		
In 1686		600p
In 1687		180p
Dowry of Paula de Benavides, daughter of María de Benavides		400p
To purchase a Slave		400p
	Total	1822p

Table 22: Household items and cash from the Calderón inventory

This inventory of Paula de Benavides' estate includes no rural properties, and only household goods beyond the appurtenances of the printing house and bookstore. Not mentioned in that document, but known from other sources, are two houses on the Calle de Monterilla, today popularly known as the Casa de la Marquesa de Uluapa, at number 18, Avenida 5 de Febrero.[59] Although members of the extended family, particularly Benavides' brother-in-law, Juan de Vera, owned rural properties, it appears that the Calderón family's fortunes were built almost entirely upon the book trade and they were financially secure enough that, by 1697, José de Ribera y Calderón could donate houses that he had been given in Guanajuato, pledging the income to help support the convent of Santa Inés.[60] With the fairly restricted output up until the 1680s, much of this income must have derived from book imports.

The same notary records the sale of one of printer Francisco Salbago's slaves, Manuel, aged 30, to Francisco Robledo on 24 January 1639 for a price of 380 pesos. Fol. 62r-v

[58] The valuation of 6p for a bed seems quite low, compared to the 110p valuation of the marriage bed of her daughter. See AGNot, Esc. 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4623, 18 June 1679, fol. 348r.

[59] AGN Bienes Nacionales, vol. 1380, exp. 9, fol. 8r-9r.

[60] AGNot Esc. 13, José Bonilla y Anaya, vol. 56, fol. 571r-573r.

The final set of questions to ask of the two inventories is, do these valuations represent wholesale or retail prices? Perhaps even below wholesale prices? How to know? In 1684, Juan de Ribera and Paula de Benavides received a shipment of books from Spain by way of Francisco de Barrios. Unfortunately, for the booksellers, there was a dispute about the final delivery price. Fortunately, for the historian, this dispute produced a detailed inventory and evaluation of the shipment by a neutral third party, and a number of titles appear on the 1684 manifest, and the Calderón inventory or the Ribera inventory, or all three.[61]

		1684 Shipment	**Calderón Inventory**	**Ribera Inventory**
Breviaries				
	4º	22p	15p	
	8º/2 vol.	17p	10p	10p
	12º/4 vol.	22p	10p	
Diurnos				
	8º	6p	4p	3p
	12º	5p	2p	2p
Horas				
	8º	7p		2p4
	12º	3p4	1p4	2p
	24º	2p4	1p	
Semana Santa		2p	1p	1p
Artes [de Nebrija] in Boards		0p5	0p5	
Artes [de Nebrija] in Vellum		0p4.5	0p4	
Santos Nuevos		0p6/*cuaderno*	0p4/*cuaderno*	1p4/*cuaderno*
Misterios de la Misa		0p5	0p3	

Table 23: Price comparison of the 1684 shipment and items appearing on the Calderón and Ribera inventories

With the exception of Nebrija's *Artes*, the prices on the Calderón and Ribera inventories are roughly one-third below those of the 1684 manifest. It is impossible to

[61] AGNot, Esc. 564, Nicolás Rodríguez Guzmán, vol. 3894, 21 January 1684.

know if the prices listed on Francisco de Barrios' 1684 manifest represent retail prices, but what is clear, however, is that the valuations listed on the Calderón and Ribera inventories represent a substantial discount from the 1684 manifest and thus almost certainly reflect wholesale or below wholesale prices.

DIVIDING THE DEBTS

In Juan de Ribera's 1684 testament, he mentioned an account book detailing his debts and debtors.[62] Sadly, this account book has not survived, however, in 1714, following the death of Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera, widow of Miguel de Ribera, a detailed inventory of her estate was produced for its division among her heirs, and it includes a complete listing of debts owed to the estate.[63] The document is complicated, difficult to interpret, and in many respects unreliable, but nonetheless useful if approached with caution. For example, although the accountant, Joseph Mobellán y la Madris, calculated the total value of the estate to be 11,099 pesos, 6 *reales*; recalculating the figures he presented produces a total of 14,102 pesos, 6 *reales*; more than 27% above Mobellán's figure. The Riberas were sophisticated merchants, and José Romo de Vera, solicitor for the *Audiencia* and related to the family, was one of those approving the document. It is difficult to imagine them overlooking such a substantial discrepancy. The document is filed, however, in the *Ramo Civil* of the National Archive, which holds documents related to cases brought before the civil magistrates, so it is possible that the Riberas entered a claim against Mobellán for the error. On the other hand, they may have conspired with him to diminish the value of the estate to facilitate intra-familiar transfers of assets and reduce tax payments upon settling the estate. The document does provide, however, a good although less detailed picture of the Ribera printing office in 1714, which can be

[62] AGNot, Esc. 564, Nicolás Rodríguez Guzmán, vol. 3894, fol. 152r-154r.
[63] AGN, Civil, vol. 2046, exp. 5.

compared to the previous inventory of 1687, and the accounts provide a unique look at the family's financial management system.

Although she had given birth to eleven children, only four remained alive upon Gertrudis de Escobar's death: María Francisca de Ribera, widow of Francisco de Guerra y Pacho; *Bachilleres* Gabriel de Ribera and Manuel de Ribera, both diocesan clerics; and María Candelaria de Ribera, *doncella*.[64] Two other inheritors with rights to the estate included the descendants of Francisca de Ribera, deceased wife of José Jáuregui y Barría (José, Manuel, and María Gertrudis), and the descendants of Juan de Ribera II, who had likewise died some years earlier, (Juana de Ribera González). Of these six heirs, only four took part in the division of property, with María Francisca de Ribera and José Jáuregui y Barría abstaining. Although only four took part in the division of property, it is likely that all six heirs partook in the profits deriving from the continued operation of the press and book shop, with María Francisca de Ribera and Gabriel de Ribera taking on principal responsibility for its administration.

Similar to the distribution of Paula de Benavides' estate, the document provides some description of the printing house and the family's property, and the former's importance to the family's estate is reflected by the fact that it is the first entry in the inventory. The books, press and shop equipment were evaluated by Gertrudis de Escobar's brother-in-law, Francisco de Rivera Calderón, then in charge of the San Agustín printing office.

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[64] The designation *doncella* means a woman who was understood to be, to all public eyes, a virgin, though the designation may have been retained simply to differentiate her from her sister, María Francisca, *la viuda*. Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera's testament can be found in Mexico's AGNot Esc. 569, Juan Romo de Vera, vol. 3920, fol. 90r-93v, (17 July 1714).

Item	Pesos	*Reales*	*Granos*
Books	3,736	4	6
Two printing presses with their chases	300		
Seven boxes of letters	1050		
One box of type ornaments	50		
One binder's press	6		
Various coats of arms, saints, and adornments	60		
Imposing tables, galleys, composing sticks and a hammer	16		
One sack of cotton to make lamp-black for ink	10		
Three large and small type specimens	30		
One vat for making ink, in use	10		
Total	5,268	4	6

Table 24: Empedradillo print-shop inventory

The press, type, and other materials, taken together, were appraised at 1,532 pesos, roughly the same as their value in 1687 if one includes the new type that was on order from Spain at the time. On both occasions, for example, each press was valued at 150 pesos. On the other hand, the much-used type from the 1687 inventory was appraised at only 20 pesos per case, whereas in this inventory each case was valued at 150 pesos. Overall, the inventory was not as thoroughly itemized, and binding materials are absent from the list. While the Ribera inventory of 1687 included loaves of writing ink and a mortar and pestle for its fabrication, this 1714 inventory provides the first reference to materials and tools for making printing ink: cotton for lamp-black, and a vat, in use.[65]

The household property, Table 25, appears rather austere, and could only have presented a partial list of the family's assets. There was, for example, no mention of the

[65] Printing ink is a mixture of varnish and a coloring agent, lamp black for black ink, and, usually, vermillion for red. Varnish is, itself, linseed oil boiled with small amounts of rosin. Wroth, citing Isaiah Thomas, writes that printers in British North America typically relied on imported, pre-mixed ink, although occasionally producing it locally or in-house. See *The Colonial Printer*, pp. 115-121; see also, Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 125-126. It is not clear if ink was imported from Spain, but from this entry, noting the vat "in use," it is clear that the Riberas were producing ink from raw materials, in other words, boiling down the varnish, a dangerous and unpleasant task owing to the highly flammable boiling oil and the noxious odor it gave off.

Item				Pesos	*Reales*	*Granos*
Two copper pots				20		
Silverwork						
			Ten plates			
			One salver and bowl			
			Fourteen spoons			
			Five "*Arafafitios*"[?]			
			One salt shaker			
Sum of above	27 *marcos*	5 *onzas*	3 *cuartas*	224	2	
Two wall sconces					10	
One image of Our Lady of Guadalupe with a gilt frame, measuring 1¾ *varas* wide.				30		
"28 entries" ending with a folding screen				6		
One tapestry from China in poor condition.				8		
One rug measuring four *varas*, in very poor condition				8		
Six cushions with bands of damask and another of sheepskin				18		
Chinese porcelain and display pieces				65		
Mattress				4	6	
Cash				4,657	5	
			Total	5,152	7	

Table 25: Ribera household property

family's houses or other properties. With 4,657 pesos on hand, the family was in a considerably better financial position than in the mid-seventeenth century when Bernardo Calderón died, for example, or when Juan de Ribera took his brother Hipólito to court to force the distribution of his mother's estate.[66]

The most interesting part of the document, however, is the apportioning of debts among the four heirs participating in the settlement of the estate. Debts were divided into three categories: "Good debts," "Difficult to collect, owing to the poverty of those who

[66] Another index of the family's financial position comes from the dowry receipt authorized by notary Martín del Rio in favor of María de Ribera Calderón, Miguel de Ribera's sister, on 18 June 1679. See Appendix E.

owe them," and "Lost debts, due to the death of the debtors." The accountant's math was not so terribly off with this section of the inventory, as the table below shows.

	Accountant's figures		**Recalculated**		
	Pesos	*Reales*	Pesos	*Reales*	*Granos*
Good Debts	1,195	5	1,193	4	
Difficult debts	199	2	199	2	
Lost debts	725	3	726	0	6
Total	2,120	3	2,118	6	6

Table 26: Debts as reported by accountant and recalculated

These debts were apportioned fairly equally among the four heirs:[67]

	Good debt			**Difficult debt**			**Lost debt**		
	P	**R**	**G**	**P**	**R**	**G**	**P**	**R**	**G**
Gabriel de Ribera	298	3	3	49	6	6	181	4	9
Manuel de Ribera	298	2	3	49	6	6	181	4	9
Juana de Ribera González	298	3	3	49	2	6	182	0	3
María Candelaria	298	3	3	49	6	6	181	2	9
Total	1,193	4		198	6		726	4	6

Table 27: Apportionment of debts among heirs

Fortunately, all the debtors were listed in the division of the estate, so it is possible to reconstruct the list divided among those who were reliable, those who were slow payers, and debts that had been written off.

Among the good debts, only the largest entry was divided among the heirs, that of the costs for producing the *Vida de la Madre Jerónima*, and even then, it was not split equally among the heirs.[68] María Candelaria was assigned 298 pesos, 3 *reales*, and 3 *granos*, while the children of Juan de Ribera were assigned 262 pesos, 5 *reales*, and 3

[67] The figures don't precisely coincide due to their coming from two different sections of the document.
[68] Ginés de Quesada, *Ejemplo de todas las virtudes, y vida milagrosa de la venerable madre Jerónima de la Asunción*, México: Widow of Miguel de Ribera, 1713 (Medina *México* 2374). The extended title makes clear that Agustín de Madrid funded the publication.

granos; Gabriel and Manuel were assigned only, 2 *reales*, 3 *granos*, and 5 pesos, 2 *reales* and 3 *granos*, respectively. As the latter two were clerics, it is likely that they benefited from endowments that afforded a regular income, while on the other hand, the debt for the *Vida* was owed Agustín de Madrid, *procurador* charged with pursuing Madre Jerónima's canonization and former vicar of the Franciscan convent. As such, perhaps the Riberas anticipated a quick and easy recovery of the remaining debt and thus assigned the bulk of it to María Candelaria and Juan II's children.

Name				P	R	G
For the printing of *Vida de la Madre Jerónima*						
Gabriel de Rivera	0	2	3			
Manuel de Rivera	5	2	3			
Juana de Rivera González	262	5	3			
María Candelaria de Rivera	298	3	3			
			Sub-total	566	5	
Teresa de Almazán, widow of Antonio de Villa				164	4	
Printing house workers				82		
Fr. Pedro Reynoso, Mercedarian				78	2	
Pe. Juan Antonio de Mora, Jesuit				72		
Pe. Tomás del Castillo, Jesuit				55	3	
Br. don Joseph Romo[69]				50		
Luís de la Peña				36		
Don Francisco Mendizábal, "*Labrador*" in the province of Chalco				35	6	
Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento de Santa Inés				25		
Cofradía de Santa Rita				15		
Dr. don Joseph Vásquez, *cura*				10	6	
Br. don Gregorio Gutiérrez				2	2	
			Total	1,193	4	

Table 28: Good debts

[69] A "Br. Don Joseph de Romo" appears in the list of "good" debts," while a "Don Joseph de Romo" appears in the list of "difficult" debts, while they may be the same individual they are treated here as two distinct debtors. A "Don Joseph Romo de Vera" was solicitor for the *Audiencia*, and guardian of María Candelaria de Ribera. Both Romos that appear were likely "Romo de Vera" and thus related to Gertrudis de Escobar y Vera.

The *Vida,* which appeared in 1713, is an extensive work of 876 pages in folio and it required 219 sheets to produce a single copy. Using the prices drawn from the bills above, a print run of 500 would have required 219 reams of paper for a cost of 1,095 pesos with paper at 5 pesos per ream. Simply setting and printing the 219 sheets at 7 pesos per sheet would have added an additional 1,533 pesos, and if they were bound at a cost of 1½ *reales* per copy, that would have added another 93 pesos 6 *reales*, for a total cost of 2,721 pesos 6 *reales*. Thus the 566 pesos 5 *reales* remaining on the debt represents only a small fraction of the estimated cost of the production.

While not all of the remaining individuals listed as good debts can be identified, such as the anonymous "printing house workers," some of them can be. Teresa de Almazán, listed second, was the widow of Antonio de Valle, who held the monopoly for the production of gunpowder, and was involved in litigation surrounding the settlement of his estate in 1714 when the inventory was drawn up. In complex and high profile cases such as this, legal briefs, appeals and the like were often printed. The Riberas printed Almazán's brief in 1714, and the inheritors of the widow of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio printed one presented by one of the plaintiffs against the estate.[70] At seventy-four leaves, simply setting the type and printing the thirty-seven sheets for Almazán's brief would have been billed at 259 pesos, so it is difficult to calculate the number of printed copies based on the outstanding debt of 164 pesos 4 *reales*, although it was no doubt small. Such works typically circulated only among members of the court.

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[70] Pedro Pérez Varela y Cortés, *Por la viuda y menores hijos y herederos de D. Antonio de Villa y Hano*, México: Widow of Miguel de Ribera, 1714 (Medina *México* 2403). Joseph de Ordaz , *Por don Juan Antonio de Hano, en el pleito con doña Teresa de Almazán, viuda de D. Antonio de Villa*, México: Inheritors of the Widow of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1714 (Medina *México* 2401). The requirement that legal briefs include the names of the printers that produced them may have influenced Hipólito de Ribera's sale of his press to Santisteban and Lupercio and the end of Benavides' near monopoly in 1659. Opposing briefs produced by the same press may have been seen as problematic.

Mercedarian Pedro Reynoso, listed fourth, sent seven books to the Ribera press between 1710 and 1735. Reynoso taught Latin at his order's convent, and all his books were pedagogical texts. Bibliographers have cataloged works he produced in 1712 and 1717, but none in between. These types of materials, essentially textbooks, were frequently "read to death" through consistent use, disposed of and reprinted, and it is possible that his 78 peso, 2 real debt reflects the printing costs for an edition that has not survived.[71]

The Jesuit Juan Antonio de Mora, listed fifth, was born in Puebla de los Ángeles and died in Mexico in 1737. He authored at least three titles, the first recorded being the popular *Alientos de la verdadera confianza*, printed by the Riberas in 1721 or 1722 and republished on at least four later occasions.[72] Although bibliographers have not recorded any imprints by Mora prior to 1721, it is possible that this entry for 72 pesos relates to another as-yet unrecorded Mora text. Conversely, the entry could relate to the Jesuits' funding a work by a member of their order, or Mora's purchase of books for one of the Jesuit *colegios*.

Titles authored by Luis de la Peña, listed eighth, appeared in 1703 and 1723 (and later), but none from the intervening years appear to have survived. The former is the *Villancicos que se cantaron en la Santa Iglesia Catedral Metropolitana de México: En los Maitines de la Natividad*, printed by the inheritors of Paula de Benavides, while the

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[71] No copy of the 1699 Ripalda catechism discussed above can be located, for example. Similarly, in 1709, owing to the absence of shipments of Nebrija's grammar, Gertrudis de Escobar was granted a license to print up to 3,000 copies in return for a payment of 200 pesos to Royal Hospital of Madrid which held the monopoly on that title. A work of 43 sheets, if she indeed printed 3,000 copies, with paper at 5 pesos per ream, setting and printing at 10 pesos per sheet, and a sale price of 12 *reales* per copy, an investment of 1,720 pesos yielded a net profit of about 2,500 pesos. What is striking, however, is that only a single copy of this work survives, at the National Library of Mexico. See Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Floresta de gramática poética y retorica en Nueva España (1521-1767)*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1980, pp. 252-259.

[72] Juan Antonio de Mora, *Alientos a la verdadera confianza y poderosos motivos para moverse à la perfecta contrición de las culpas*, México: Inheritors of the Widow of Miguel de Ribera Calderón, [1721].

latter, *Rescate de la venta que hizo de la Persona de N. Redentor su mas Aleve Discípulo* was printed by heirs of Gertrudis de Escobar. The widow of Miguel de Ortega reprinted a novena authored by de la Peña in Puebla in 1734, and the imprint mentions that Gertrudis de Escobar had printed the original. Although Escobar's edition appears not to have survived, it could only have been produced between 1707 and 1714. The surviving editions comprise only one to one and a half sheets, thus if the 36 peso debt represents the total cost of producing the original novena, at 10 pesos for setting and printing one and one half sheets, and paper at 5 pesos per ream, as many as 2,500 copies could have been produced. Although that figure seems extremely large, it is not inconceivable, considering the inventory of Paula de Benavides' shop, discussed above.

Although Francisco Mendizábal, listed ninth, was identified as a *labrador* from Chalco in the accounts, in a 1715 publication that he helped to fund at by the Riberas he was identified as the *Hermano mayor* of the Third Order of San Francisco.[73] The Third Order was engaged in a legal dispute in 1714, and the Riberas printed the accompanying brief, authored by Félix Rodríguez de Guzmán and funded by Nicolás López de Landa, who preceded Mendizábal as *Hermano mayor*.[74] Mendizábal may have taken on responsibility for this debt as he assumed that position. At only six sheets, the debt of 35 pesos and 6 *reales* is less than the 42 pesos that would have been charged for setting and printing the sheets.

As one would expect of those who were considered to be good debtors and who can be linked to specific titles that may have generated those debts, the sums outstanding

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[73] Antonio de Escoto. *Sermón de las tres horas, que Cristo estuvo en la Cruz*. México: Herederos de la viuda de Miguel de Ribera, 1715 (Medina *México* 2419).

[74] Félix Rodríguez de Guzmán, *Parecer fiscal, expresión de privilegios, y méritos de justicia de la venerable Tercera orden de penitencia de N.P.S. Francisco*, México: Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1714 (Medina *México* 2405).

represented only a fraction of the total costs of production. One would certainly like to know the terms for collection of the debts owed by the printing house workers, terms that found them listed among the good debts. Were deductions made from their salaries, and if so, was it on a monthly, quarterly, trimestral, or annual basis? If not, did the debts bind them to the press, essentially making them debt peons? Unfortunately, neither this document nor others shed light on these questions.

Name			P	R	G
Br. Gonzales					
Juana de Ribera González	26	4			
María Candelaria de Ribera	26	4			
	Sub-total		53		
Juan de Escobedo, Sacristan of S. Bernardo					
Gabriel de Ribera	10				
Manuel de Ribera	17				
Juana de Ribera González	10				
María Candelaria de Ribera	10				
	Sub-total		47		
Br. don Pedro Ramírez			20	4	
Don Joseph Romo			20		
Br. Blas de Artiaga			18		
Don Thomas de Garfias, Tertiary of San Francisco			12		
Br. don Joseph del Valle			8		
Madre Leonora de Cristo, Nun of San Bernardo			6		
Don Pedro Apodaca, *Viandante,* (itinerant)			4	1	6
Juan de Mascareñas			4		6
"The one from Puebla who sells *mantas*"			2	4	
Br. don Manuel de la Luna, Presbítero			2		
Cristóbal Romo			2		
		Total	199	2	

Table 29: Difficult debts

The smallest of the three categories were the "difficult" debts, and the two largest of these were split among the heirs. The largest, owed by "Br. González," was divided

between Juana de Ribera González and María Candelaria. With the rather familiar mode of address, Br. González may have been well known to, perhaps even related to, the family, and although his debt appears among those difficult to collect, he may have been more secure than the others. The bibliographical record holds no obvious candidate for a corresponding publication. The second largest, owed by Juan de Escobedo, sacristan of the convent of San Bernardo, was divided relatively evenly among three of the four heirs, at 10 pesos each, with the fourth, Manuel de Ribera, being assigned a disproportionate 17 pesos. In 1709, the Empedradillo press issued Nicolás de Espíndola's *Desagravios de nuestro bien y tiernas meditaciones*, dedicated to San Bernardo and funded by "a religious daughter of his in his convent of this city of Mexico"[75] If Escobedo's debt was for this six-sheet work, the outstanding sum was enough to produce about eighty copies, though as above, it likely represented only a fraction of the initial debt. Among those listed, there also appears a Madre Leonora de Cristo, nun of San Bernardo, who might correspond to the "*religiosa hija*." Two of the other, very minor, debts were divided among the heirs, which may simply have been to facilitate the accountant's calculations.

Of these debtors, Pedro Ramírez del Castillo can be identified with certainty. He authored a rather brief piece of only eight sheets, printed by Gertrudis de Escobar in 1708, and the 20 pesos 4 *tomines* he owed may derive from that publication. Setting and printing the eight sheets at 7 pesos per sheet would have been billed at 56 pesos.[76] The other debts are untraceable, and it is not clear if they were for print jobs, books purchased from the shop, or other debts. For example, Gertrudis de Villena, wife of Pedro

[75] "una religiosa hija suya de su convento de esta ciudad de México." An enormously popular text, it was reprinted no fewer than ten times during the viceregal period. Nicolás de Espíndola, *Desagravios de nuestro bien y tiernas meditaciones,* México: Viuda de Miguel de Ribera, 1709 (Medina *México* 2208).
[76] Pedro Ramírez del Castillo, *Solio, y laurel de opositores*, México: Widow of Miguel de Ribera, 1708 (Medina *México* 2188).

Name		P	R	G
Francisco Hernández "que quebró en la Puebla"				
Gabriel de Ribera	54			
Manuel de Ribera	54			
Juana de Ribera González	54			
María Candelaria de Ribera	54			
Subtotal		216		
Don Tomás Montaño, Prebend of Michoacán (d. 1742)		59		
R. Pe. [Antonio Pinto de] Aguilar, Dominican (d. after 1733)		45		
Pe. Nicolás Zamudio (d. after 1743)		39		
Dr. don Ignacio Canseco		35	4	
Don Juan Mateos, *Viandante*		31		
Fr. Melchor Lucio, Order of San Hipólito		30		
Br. don Juan López, *Presbítero*, administrator of the Angustias		28		
Br. don Miguel de Esquivel		27		
Fr. Thomas of the Order of Belthlemites		25		
Dr. don Lucas de Verdiguer (d. 1728)		22		
Br. don Juan de Silva y Marchena		21	1	
Bazán, *Corredor* and Tertiary		20		
Br. don Juan Buitrón, Lawyer		18		
Pe. Juan Esteban Ruiz		15		
Pe. Antonio [Ignacio] Mayorga, Jesuit (d. 1744)		12		
"In the dispute with the Sevillian"		11		
Miguel de la Torre, *medico* in Toluca		10	6	
Br. don Cosme Damián, *Presbítero*		8		
Br. don Gaspar Huerta, *Presbítero*		8		
Br. Antonio de Coral, *Presbítero*		7		
Joseph, from Puebla		7	4	
Br. don Juan García [de la Rea?], *Presbítero*		6		
Br. don Joseph Avilés, *Presbítero* [José López de Avilés?]		5		
Don Juan de Soto, *Presbítero*		5	4	
Don Ignacio de Avilés, *Presbítero*		4		
Br. don Jacinto Gonzales, "deceased"		3	5	6
Don Juan Villar, Lawyer		3		
Maestro Mejía from the Seminary college		3		
Total		726	0	6

Table 30: Lost debts

Quiñones, a long-time employee of the Calderón and Ribera enterprise, mentioned in her testament a 20 peso debt owed to Paula de Benavides deriving from the fact that she had

pawned a gold necklace with white stones and pearl pendants, and ordered that upon her death it be retrieved after payment of the debt was made.[77] Perhaps the debt owed by "the one from Puebla who sells *mantas*" was something of this sort. In other words, the family may have served as small time bankers for a community short of specie.

Of the twenty-nine "lost" debts, nineteen were owed by clerics. The largest was 216 pesos owed by Francisco Hernández "who went bankrupt in Puebla [de los Ángeles]." His debt was split equally among the four heirs, with each assigned 54 pesos. Again, some very minor debts were divided among the heirs, likely done simply to facilitate the even distribution of debt among the heirs.

Few of these "lost" debts are traceable and the list leaves many questions unanswered. The "dispute with the Sevillan" may refer to the disagreement with Barrios in 1684, discussed above, for example, although carrying this debt until 1714 would seem odd. Although they were designated as lost due to the death of those who owed them, only one debtor was clearly marked as deceased, and at least five were still alive at the time the document was produced. Thomas Montaño was elected bishop of Oaxaca in 1737 and died there in 1742, Dominican Antonio Pinto de Aguilar, Inquisition censor, was elected provincial of his order in 1733, and the Jesuit Nicolás Zamudio lived until at least 1743. Perhaps these entries represent a financial accounting for alms of one sort or another, charging off donated print jobs as lost debts.

Tomás Montaño authored *Voces de la lealtad alborozos de la fidelidad,* which was published by the heirs of the widow of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio in 1712. Likewise, in the same year, Antonio Pinto de Aguilar funded Antonio de la Riba's *Sermón panegírico* with Rodríguez Lupercio's press as well. Lucas Verdiguer published

[77] AGNot, Esc. 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4600, fol. 263v-265v.

at least four pieces prior to 1714, only one of which identified a printer, that being the *México plausible* of 1711, printed by the heirs of Juan José Guillena Carrascoso. After 1714, he published works with the descendants of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio and of Miguel de Ribera. The debts for these individuals may reflect publications that haven't survived or can't be clearly connected to them, the family's small scale banking, or, perhaps, the functioning of the proto-guild system discussed in the previous chapter. In other words, the publications mentioned above may have been commissioned from and managed by the Riberas, with the printing work sub-contracted to other printers.

CONCLUSION

While the inventories discussed above help to provide a picture of the family's assets and some of the inner workings of the printing office, they also illustrate a gradual erosion of the family's estate. When Paula de Benavides died in 1684, she left two heirs who divided an estate valued at close to 40,000 pesos. A generation later, in 1703, María de Benavides' estate was valued at just over 32,785 pesos, but this was divided among five heirs, thus each received only roughly 6,557 pesos, or about 32% of the previous generation's shares.[78] With Gertrudis de Escobar's death in 1714, her estate of between 11,000 and 14,000 pesos was divided among four heirs who received further diminished shares of between 2,750 and 3,500 pesos each. Judging by the productivity and resilience of the family in the following years, it would be incorrect to argue that they were somehow debilitated, but their fortunes had certainly receded from the high-water mark of the 1680s.

After decades of relative stability, the period between 1684 and 1714 saw many transitions for the family, transformations in the trade, and convulsions in the social

[78] AGNot, Juan Clemente Guerrero, Esc. 254, vol. 1658, not foliated, 18-19 September 1703.

sphere. New printers began appearing in the 1690s, and Mexico City was racked by violence in 1692, with a riot that did significant damage to the area surrounding the central square where the Empedradillo printing office was located. With the death of a childless Charles II in 1700, competing claimants and their supporters waged the War of Spanish Succession that lasted until 1714 and brought about the transition from the Hapsburg dynasty to the Bourbons.[79] While the fiscal and administrative reforms implemented under the Bourbons would largely take effect in the mid- to late-eighteenth century, peninsular Spaniards began migrating to New Spain in increasing numbers. Among them would be the fiercest competitor the Calderón clan had faced since the 1640s, José Bernardo de Hogal, who arrived in 1721.

[79] On some of the effects of this war in New Spain, see: Christoph Rosenmüller. *Patrons, Partisans, and Palace Intrigues: The Court Society of Colonial Mexico, 1702-1710*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2008.

Chapter 6: Challenges to the proto-guild system

The almost guild-like cooperation-amidst-competition among printers and booksellers that reigned during the 1650s and 1660s endured until the early eighteenth century and the arrival of José Bernardo de Hogal in 1721 when conflict again emerged. What motivated these conflicts and how were they pursued? What can they tell us about broader issues in viceregal society in the first half of the eighteenth century? As a recently arrived Spaniard, it is tempting to view the conflicts that Hogal provoked through the lens of creole-peninsular divisions. Likewise, the modes of competition Hogal employed could be seen as "innovations" or the "modernization" of an industry that had remained remarkably conservative for over a century.[1] Instead, I argue that Hogal should better be understood as an opportunist who exploited divisions among the viceroyalty's elites for his own advantage, and that the "innovations" he introduced should better be seen as driven by economic necessity rather than enlightened "modernization." Like previous conflicts in the 1620s, 1630s, and 1640s, Hogal's challenge to the Riberas began with the *cartilla* monopoly. In the seventeenth century, conflicts over the monopoly were part of larger disputes involving the diocesan and regular clergy, and clashes between viceroys and archbishops. In the eighteenth century, Hogal's attempt to break the Riberas' monopoly was entirely secular and driven by his financial necessities. Nevertheless, I argue that his strategy went to the heart of issues of metropolitan, royal authority vs. local authority. The Riberas' monopoly over *cartillas* was granted by the viceroy and supported by the crown, and during the 1720s, Hogal

[1] Bibliographically, as well, Mexican printers were very conservative. Into the eighteenth century, the majority of Mexican books were foliated rather than paginated, while most continental printers had adopted pagination by the early seventeenth century.

succeeded in chipping away at the privileges the Riberas enjoyed under that monopoly by appealing to the city council, the *cabildo,* and other local elites.

From 1714 to 1732, the Ribera press on the Empedradillo operated under the imprint "Inheritors of the widow of Miguel de Ribera." From 1714 until 1722, it ran under the leadership of María Francisca de Ribera and her son Jacinto de Guerra, and from there forward under the leadership of María Candelaria de Ribera. She remained in partnership with Jacinto de Guerra until his death in 1732 when she began publishing under her name alone. With the death of Francisco de Ribera Calderón in 1731, book production was consolidated at the Empedradillo printing office, with only seven works coming from the San Agustín location between 1732 and 1747. María Candelaria de Ribera had authorized Francisco de Ribera to participate in the monopoly on *cartillas*, and these continued to be produced at the San Agustín press, as were edicts for the Inquisition and likely other ephemera as well. Although the Empedradillo press issued only about half as many editions as Hogal during the 1730s, it nonetheless published over a hundred titles and unknown quantities of ephemera. María Candelaria de Ribera diversified as well. She was the first in the family since the sixteenth century to branch out of the traditional occupations of printer-bookseller or cleric. In December 1722, she received via donation from Elena Durán a wax shop valued at 5,000 pesos, located right next to her shop on the Empedradillo.[2]

The period 1714 to 1722 was a significant one for the Riberas and for the history of printing in Mexico as it saw the appearance of Mexico's first regularly issued newspaper, the *Gaceta de México*. The period of transition following 1722 was important in a different way. Then, José Bernardo de Hogal began exercising pressure on the Ribera

[2] AGNot, Esc. 569, Juan Romo de Vera, vol. 3924, fol. 15r-152r, 29 December 1722.

clan's interests, by reprinting texts previously issued by the Riberas and others, occasionally within months of their first appearance from the Empedradillo press. He also instituted a suit to break María Candelaria's privilege on *cartillas*. Almost a century before, Francisco de Robledo had challenged Paula de Benavides' monopoly shortly after the death of Bernardo Calderón; likewise in 1725, José Bernardo de Hogal began his suit over the *cartilla* monopoly following the death of María Francisca de Ribera, when he may have assumed the family was in a weakened position.

JOSÉ BERNARDO DE HOGAL

José Bernardo de Hogal is a complicated figure to discuss, owing to the prevailing narrative that derives from Medina's laudatory, even hagiographic, portrait of him in *La imprenta en México.*[3] As a positivist who seemingly saw all printers as humanists, Medina read his sources as transparent windows into the past. Subsequent writers have frequently followed his lead, without recourse to the substantial additional documentation in various archives in Spain and Mexico City.[4] According to Medina's narrative, after serving as an official of the treasury and paymaster of the royal army in Andalucía, at the rank of cavalry lieutenant, Hogal was sent to New Spain in 1720, "commissioned by Your Majesty with collecting certain interests of the Royal Treasury." Seeing the poor state of the two or three presses in operation in Mexico at the time of his arrival, "which were so defective and diminished that they were almost unserviceable," Hogal resolved to request a license from the King to open another.[5] Despite having successfully fulfilled his commission on behalf of the crown, the license was delayed, and Hogal chose to

[3] Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. 1, pp. CLIX-CLXV.
[4] Such is the case with Justina Sarabia Viejo, and her contribution "La Imprenta Hogal. Religión y cultura ilustrada en el México del siglo XVIII," In: Jesús María Nieto Ibáñez and Raúl Manchón Gómez eds. *El humanismo Español entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*. Jaén; León: Servicio de publicaciones Universidad de Jaén; Servicio de publicaciones Universidad de León, 2008, pp. 455-490.
[5] Medina, *La imprenta en México,* vol. VIII, p 406.

return to Spain to expedite the process. He left for Spain in 1722 and had returned to Mexico by 1724, although his printing office, according to Medina, began operating in 1721 and continued publishing during his absence. On his return, Hogal brought with him his wife, Rosa Teresa de Poveda, along with his children, his mother, and four sisters. In 1727, the *Cabildo* of Mexico City named Hogal *Impresor mayor de la ciudad*, (Principal printer to the city), which included the right and obligation to print the *Gaceta*, and other official notices. The following year, Juan Ignacio de Castorena de Ursúa awarded him the title of printer to the Holy Crusade, which also entailed monopoly privileges on their publications, particularly the popular Crusade Bulls.[6] In 1728, Hogal presented testimony by his employees to the Council of the Indies attesting to his mastery of the trade, including having fabricated types for printing music, and being the first in Mexico to set Greek type. Hogal died in 1741. For Medina, "that is the truth of the matter."[7]

Unfortunately, very little in that telling is entirely true and at best it presents a very inflated picture of Hogal's life and career. There is no contemporaneous documentary evidence that Hogal was in Mexico prior to March 1721. Moreover, the very title that Medina cites as proof that Hogal began in that year, Juan Antonio de Mora's *Alientos a la verdadera confianza*, includes a nonsensical annotation that Hogal's "1721" edition was the second or possibly the third edition of an original that had first appeared in 1722.[8] The imprint of Hogal's edition of the *Alientos* does not include a date on the title page, although the preliminaries include the licenses from the previous

[6] While initially intended to finance crusades against the Moors and the Turks, by the seventeenth century fund were used more broadly to support the church.

[7] Medina states that Greek texts were published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though I am unaware of any. Medina. *La imprenta en México*. vol. I, p. CLIX-CLXXI.

[8] Medina *México* 2685 and 2646. An unrecorded edition by the Inheritors of the Widow of Miguel de Ribera appears to be the genuine first appearance of this work, published in late 1721 or early 1722 based on a comparison of the imprints and preliminaries of this and later editions.

editions, dated 1721, leading to Medina's errant dating of the appearance of the text. The imprint does include, however, the location of Hogal's press "*en la calle nueva [de la Monterilla]*," which Hogal used between 1725 and 1734, affirming that his edition of the *Alientos* appeared no earlier than 1725, and perhaps even later.[9]

Regarding the two or three "unserviceable" presses Hogal supposedly encountered when he arrived in Mexico in 1721, in addition to the Calderóns and Riberas, there were also the printing houses belonging to the heirs of the widow of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio (active from 1698-1736) and the one that had belonged to Juan José Guillena Carrascoso. The latter was in the process of being sold to Manuela Cerezo of Puebla, though it remained in Mexico City, led by her son, Juan Francisco de Ortega y Bonilla.[10] These could be described as anything but "unserviceable," since they were not only quite productive, but printed many sophisticated and well executed works. As for Hogal's supposed return to Spain to procure a license to open a press, there are multiple documents from 1721-1724, done in Mexico and bearing Hogal's signature and rubric, so it is impossible for him to have returned to Spain during that period.[11] Rosa Teresa de Poveda's travel documents dating from 1721-1723 place Hogal in Mexico and include references to only two children and one of her sisters traveling with her, with no

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[9] Prior to this, Hogal was operating on the Calle de la Acequia at the Puente del Espíritu Santo, today the intersection of 16 Septiembre and Isabel la Católica. The title page of the 1722 edition of Mora's *Alientos* (Medina *México* 2685) refers to him as Rector of the Jesuit *colegio* of Querétaro, while Hogal's "1721" edition (Medina *México* 2646) refers to him as the prefect of the Congregation of el Salvador. Mora was also referred to as prefect of the Congregation in Hogal's 1726 edition of Mora's *Vida y virtudes heroica de el ejemplar y ferveroso hermano Juan Nicolás* (Medina *México* 2874), further suggesting that Hogal's edition appeared no earlier than 1725.

[10] Medina. *La imprenta en México*. vol. I, p. CLIX. See also, Pérez Salazar. *Los impresores de Puebla en la época colonial*. pp. 57-62, 136-140.

[11] See, for example, AGNot, Esc. 235, Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, vol. 1465, fol. 3v-4r, 9v-12r, 77r-v, 78v-81v and 250v-251r.

mention of Hogal's mother and four sisters. There is, however, some documentary evidence that they were in Mexico by 1728.[12]

Medina dated José Bernardo's arrival in Mexico to 1720 and his return to Spain in 1721-1723 based on testimony by his son, José Antonio de Hogal, presented to the viceroy in 1785.[13] José Antonio may have believed the testimony he gave, based on his father's telling of events, or he may have been consciously attempting to draw attention away from the year 1723. In that year Hogal produced a text with the critical title *Tres fuerzas que sin remedio padece la benemérita provincia del Santo Evangelio de México,* (Three forces that, without remedy, weaken the Province of the Santo Evangelio), that was so thoroughly suppressed by the Inquisition for having defamed a member of the Franciscan hierarchy that no copy survives today.[14]

There is no trace of Hogal's travel papers in the Archivo General de las Indias, nor is there any trace of his royal commission to collect accounts in Mexico, a claim that only appears in José Antonio de Hogal's 1785 testimony. José Bernardo's own account states that he had asked leave of the army to travel to Mexico, and at best, his son's 1785 claim vastly overstated Hogal's role in the affair.[15] In reality, Feliciano Montero, a merchant from Seville, traveled to Mexico in 1725 with the intention of collecting a royal order of payment, a *libramiento,* valued at 114,000 pesos from the royal treasury there.[16] The three top officials of the treasury in Mexico City had been separated from their posts in 1716, charged with corruption, including illegally retaining from 25% to 50% of the

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[12] AGI, México, Legajo 556

[13] Medina. *La imprenta en México*. vol. VIII, pp. 406-409.

[14] AGN, Edictos de la Inquisición, vol. IV, fol. 22. Save for the edict prohibiting the title, and confirmation that it had been read in various municipalities, nothing more survives to help clarify the specific issues involved.

[15] Justina Sarabia Viejo. "La Imprenta Hogal. Religión y cultura ilustrada en el México del siglo XVIII," p. 456.

[16] AGN, Concurso de Cotilla, vol. 2, exp. 4, fol. 246r-375r.

value of *libramientos* as *regalías* or transaction fees.[17] Although pardoned in 1722, their cases continued to cause difficulty for Montero. After a year of failed attempts to collect the *libramiento*, before returning to Spain, Montero managed to receive partial payment and promises to pay some of the remaining funds from Alejo López Cotilla, chief accountant of the treasury, despite the fact that the laws of Spain expressly forbade such partial payments. One of these agreements was with Hogal in the amount of 30,000 pesos. Montero lodged with Hogal during his time in New Spain, and left instructions for how the funds were to be applied in Havana and sent to Spain. In other words, Hogal played a fairly peripheral role in the affair and he was not acting as a crown agent, much less was he sent to New Spain in 1720 to pursue such a mission.

Employing additional documentation from Spanish and Mexican archives, it is possible to trace a much more complete and accurate biography of José Bernardo de Hogal. His testament reveals that he was born in Medina de Rioseco, about 25 miles north-west of Valladolid in Northern Spain, some time around 1685. He was in Seville no later than May of 1712, when he married Seville-born Rosa Teresa, although it is likely that he arrived there much earlier. In a later codicil to his testament, he mentioned that "in his youth" he worked in Seville at the shop of Juan Plazes, and elsewhere alluded to the "good education" he received in that city. It is possible that the violence of the War of Spanish Succession had driven him and perhaps his family to the Andalucian city. He was in Mexico City by 26 March of 1721 when he dictated a power of attorney authorizing Rosa Teresa Poveda, along with five others, to solicit the funds necessary for her to travel to New Spain along with her children and family.[18] It appears that the

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[17] Amalia Gómez. *Las visitas de la Real Hacienda novohispana en el reinado de Felipe V (1710-1733)*. Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1979, Chapters VII-X.

[18] AGNot, Gabriel Fernando Navarro, Esc. 457, vol. 3129, 26 March 1721, also AGI, Contratación, 5473, N.2, R. 5, 08-06-1723, fol. 1r-2v

fundraising effort was not immediately successful, for on 26 September 1722, Hogal penned a letter to his wife sending her 700 pesos for her travel expenses and ordering her to collect relevant documents and arrange for her travel to New Spain. One of the documents he requested was his commission as a cavalry lieutenant posted to the Treasury of the Royal Army of Andalucía, and from this it is fair to suggest that he had served on the Bourbon side of the War of Spanish Succession. The letter explicitly states that she could not avail herself of the 700 pesos if she did not embark for New Spain.[19]

Teresa de Poveda finally left for New Spain in 1723, at age 33, taking with her her two children, Manuel José Sebastián, aged 10, and Manuela Josefa María Antonia, aged 7, and her sister, Rosalía María Francisca, *doncella*, aged 19, and there are features of this document that make it appear that the process was indeed begun in 1721.[20] In an age before passport photos, travelers carried documents with physical descriptions. Rosa Teresa de Poveda was described as being "white, with a small body, brown eyes and black hair." Her sister Rosalía was described as having a "small body, brown eyes, and black hair." Her son, Manuel, and daughter, Manuela, were described, respectively, as "aged ~~8~~, white, with a lazy eye (*un ojo que mete entre otro*) and blond hair," and "aged ~~5~~, black eyes, and hair the same." In both of the latter descriptions, which would have included the correct ages of Manuel and Manuela in 1721, the ages were struck through and they were recalculated for 1723 at the foot of the document. In addition to Hogal's nuclear family, he also had a cousin in New Spain, Luis Pinto de Aguilar.

Neither in the power of attorney from 1721 nor in Poveda's travel documents, is Hogal referred to as a printer, a book merchant, or even as a bookseller. At a time when one's *oficio* was an integral part of one's identity, this strongly suggests that he had not

[19] AGI, Contratación, 5473, N.2, R. 5, 08-06-1723, fol. 5r-v
[20] AGI, Contratación, 5473, N.2, R. 5, 08-06-1723, fol. 16r

yet begun as a printer-bookseller in New Spain and likely had not exercised such an *oficio* prior to his departure from Seville. A document from 1724 makes this explicit. In a dispute in which Hogal unsuccessfully attempted to claim 150 pesos for merchandise given to a third party, Gabriel Guerrero Ardila, *Audiencia* accountant, described Hogal as "previously a merchant in this city who is today a bookseller and printer."[21] The latter raises the question of where he acquired his press and where and how Hogal learned the art of printing, if ever he did so. Sadly, the archives are mute on these issues.

Discounting the supposed 1721 edition of Mora's *Alientos*, Hogal began printing in late-1722 with a pair of quarto pamphlets celebrating the arrival of the viceroy Marqués de Casa Fuerte along with reprinting a small-format devotional, a practice that would become his specialty.[22] Hogal's typography is very similar to that of Diego Fernández de León, who owned a press in Mexico City between 1690 and 1692, and Juan José Guillena Carrascoso and his heirs, at work in Mexico between 1693 and 1721—particularly in the use of red-and-black title pages, rarely seen since the early seventeenth century. Guillena Carrascoso took over as administrator for Fernández de León in 1693, and it is possible that part of his materials went to Hogal via Juan Francisco de Ortega y Bonilla around 1722-1724. The sale of Guillena Carrascoso's property roughly coincides with Hogal's appearance, and considering Hogal's small output of only three titles in 1722 and another three in 1723, and his claim to have purchased a new press in 1724, coinciding with an output of twenty editions in that year, such a transfer appears

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[21] "[M]ercader que fue en esta ciudad y librero y impresor que es." AGN Civil, vol. 179 exp. 8, fol. 3r.

[22] *Arco triumphal que la Insigne Iglesia Metropolitana de México dibujó en su entrada* and *Triunfal pompa, que la nobilísima Ciudad de México, dispuso a la entrada, del Excmo. señor, don Juan Antonio Vásquez de Acuña*. México: José Bernardo de Hogal, 1722 and *Triumphal pompa que la Nobilissima Ciudad de Mexico dispuso a la entrada del Exmo. Señor don Juan Antonio Vasquez de Acuña* (Medina *México* 2667 and 2696) and *Devoción, y novena del glorioso Apóstol San Judas Tadeo*. México: José Bernardo de Hogal, 1722 (Medina *México* 2670). OCLC lists two other ephemeral pieces that may also have appeared in 1722.

plausible. Hogal's imprints from 1724 bear the designation, *Imprenta nueva,* "the new press," and Juan Francisco de Ortega y Bonilla had operated between 1721 and 1724, frequently using the imprint, *en la Imprenta nueva Plantiniana.* Whether the materials followed this line or not, all three printers, Fernández de León, Guillena Carrascoso and Hogal, employed the brothers José, Miguel, and Antonio Fernández de Orozco.[23]

As a recent arrival, Hogal could not count on the familial and commercial relationships that the Calderóns and Riberas had established over the course of more than a century. He appears to have been well aware that his success depended on establishing both financial and symbolic capital. In the 1722 letter to his wife, he related that he had heard that there were rumors being spread in Seville that his colleague "Antúñez" had already saved 100,000 pesos while he had spent his savings with a "*comadre*."[24] Hogal was quite aware of the intimate relationship between symbolic and financial capital and how fragile that connection might be, writing, "by spreading such rumors a well-off man loses his credit." He went on to swear that if he had "these *picaros*" to hand, he would "give [them] a good thousand whacks so [they] wouldn't forget [him]."[25] If these rumors were indeed circulating, it might account for the difficulty his agents in Seville had in raising funds for his wife's voyage to Mexico. At the same time, his 1722 publication celebrating the arrival of the new viceroy was perhaps an effort to curry favor, while with the critical piece he published in 1723, *Tres fuerzas*, he may have hoped to establish himself, following the long tradition of the *arbitristas,* as an acute observer of the local scene in the hopes of preferment, although that effort backfired rather profoundly.

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[23] Medina, *La imprenta en México*, pp. 397-400.
[24] "[C]on un comadre." It is not clear from the context if Hogal meant by this "a mistress" or "a foolish choice," although it appears the former.
[25] AGI, Contratación, 5473, N.2, R. 5, 08-06-1723, fol. 6r

In the financial sphere, Hogal quickly sought to establish himself as a "well-off man" and one of good credit, by guaranteeing a loan of 2,280 pesos on 19 November 1722 for his colleague Francisco Sánchez Antúñez, the same Antúñez who had supposedly quickly amassed 100,000 pesos, and then again on 21 August 1724 in the amount of 2,805 pesos 5 *reales*, owed by Vicente de Medina y Fernández to the widow of Luis Miguel de Luyando y Bermeo, of the order of Calatrava.[26]

It also appears that he rather quickly over-extended himself. On 17 April 1725 Hogal was compelled to appear before notary Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya and swear that "having made some guarantees for various quantities for different individuals who have experienced some reverses in their fortunes, and finding this a problem" he would not act as guarantor for anyone in any way by voice or by written instrument for a period of four years. He had to post a 1,000-peso surety, and each infraction would be fined at an additional 200 pesos.[27]

This embarrassment could only have been a severe blow to Hogal's symbolic and financial capital. No corresponding document limiting his ability to contract debt has emerged, but the prohibition on his ability to act as guarantor for others' debts certainly must have sown doubts about his own ability to fulfill his obligations. Specie was always in short supply during the viceregal period, and as a result, debts were contracted, renegotiated, transferred, and, perhaps, settled, over long stretches of time, and frequently, many thousands of miles. The Calderóns had long enjoyed secure access to credit that allowed them to conduct business at a distance. Take, for example, the 3,400 peso debt Bernardo Calderón owed to Antonio de Toro at the time of his death in 1640.

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[26] The two also served as co-executors and inheritors of Pedro Pascual Fernández de Villar, a native of Granada who had settled in Seville, but found himself resident in Mexico when he was approaching death. AGNot, Esc. 235, Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, vol. 1465, fol. 9v-12r.

[27] AGNot, Esc. 235, Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, vol. 1465, fol. 5r-v (17 April 1725).

Generations later, one finds, for example, an obligation to Alonso de Armenta in the amount of 4,300 pesos undertaken by Gabriel de Ribera and María Francisca de Ribera on 9 April 1718, and Gabriel de Ribera's authorization to Jacinto de Guerra to assume obligations in Veracruz, up to 20,000 pesos, dated 13 October 1723.[28] Hogal was thus limited in his ability to contract credit and do business at a distance, and although there are at least two documents mentioning debts owed to him, in the registers of his principal notary there is no sign of his undertaking debts during this period. Nevertheless, Hogal managed to be remarkably productive during this period, producing no fewer than 173 of the 384 recorded titles (45%) between 1725 and 1729, more than any other printer.

THE ONLY THING RARER THAN A FIRST EDITION, IS A SECOND EDITION

In Chapter 1, I argued that Juan Ruiz and Francisco Salbago reprinted titles in 1641 that had originally been published in Mexico some years earlier by Bernardo Calderón. Their re-publications effectively saturated the market and blocked Paula de Benavides from reprinting them as well. In the eighteenth century this type of economic competition became far more prevalent, and the genre of reprinted texts expanded. Though no comprehensive study of reprinting has yet been done, it is nonetheless possible to make some general observations based on a review of the bibliographical record. Prior to the eighteenth century, confession manuals and other texts of great utility to the clerical and merchant elite saw the most frequent republication. Among these texts were, for example, Pedro de Arenas' *Vocabulario Manual de la lengua Castellana y Mexicana*, first published in 1611 by Enrico Martínez and then again on at least seven other occasions prior to 1703, and Agustín de Vetancurt's *Manual de administrar los Santos Sacramentos*

[28] AGN, Bienes Nacionales, vol. 56, exp. 102, fol. 1r; AGNot, Esc. 569, Juan Romo de Vera, vol. 3922, fol. 43v-45r 9 April 1718; and vol. 3925, fol. 188v-119v, 13 October 1723.

first printed by Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio in 1674, reprinted at least three times through 1700.[29]

Texts specifically indicated as "reprinted" in their imprints provide a rough index of the practice. The first appearance of such a work appears to have been the *Reverente obsequio*, first issued by María de Benavides at the San Agustín press in 1691, and then reprinted by José Guillena Carrascoso in 1698.[30] From 1698 forward, until the arrival of Hogal in 1721, there were only sixteen titles specifically designated as "*reimpreso*," but in the twenty years that followed, spanning Hogal's career, 201 imprints explicitly indicated reprinting. Hogal produced approximately 465 editions between 1721 and 1741, and of these, ninety-nine were clearly indicated to be reprints. In other words, Hogal issued roughly half of the total number of texts designated as reprints during that period, and these constituted about 20% of his total output. Just under half of those ninety-nine were small format devotionals meant for popular consumption, and rarely consisted of more than one printed sheet. For any one of these, 1,000 copies could have been produced in as little as two days, and they could be sold as cheaply as they were produced. Using high estimates of 10 pesos per sheet for setting and printing, and 10 pesos per ream for paper, an investment of 30 pesos for a print run of 1,000 would gross 125 pesos, and net 95 pesos, if each was sold at 1 *real*.

Since the Calderóns and the Riberas, taken together, printed roughly half of the catalogued output of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, it should come as no surprise that many of the texts Hogal chose to reprint had originally come from their

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[29] Medina *México* 257 and 1118.

[30] Medina *México* 1710. José de Castro's *Viaje de América a Roma*, Medina *México* 1469, provisionally dated to 1690, is listed in Medina with an imprint that includes "reimpreso," and an attribution to printer Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, based on Beristaín. The extant copies, one at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, do not indicate date or printer.

presses. The already-mentioned *Alientos* provides one example, first produced at the Empedradillo in 1721 or 1722 and reprinted by Hogal not before 1725. Juan de Abreu's *Desagravios dolorosos de María*, printed in two editions by María Candelaria de Ribera in 1726, then reprinted by Hogal in 1728, 1732, and 1736 provides another.[31] While the latter reproduced both the text and format of the original, Hogal would occasionally change the format from an octavo to a 16mo, as in the case of Francisco de la Concepción Barbosa's *Novena nueva*, printed by María Candelaria de Ribera in 1725 as an octavo, but then reprinted by José Bernardo de Hogal in the same year, and again in 1726, and 1730 as a 16mo.[32] In the case of Gilberto Dermes's *Novena Sagrada de el Redentor Humano*, first published in octavo by Gertrudis de Escobar sometime between 1707 and 1714 and reprinted in 1727, Hogal issued it the very same year, yet in smaller format. While his republication of previously printed works and small format devotionals was certainly an effort to build up his stock and turn a quick profit, given his apparent restriction on contracting debt, it also raises the question of why other printers *did not* more frequently reprint titles that clearly had a ready audience, as evidenced by the multiple editions cited above.[33] The appearance of the *Gaceta*, despite its early demise, suggests that there was a sufficiently large literate audience to sustain such an effort, and the frequent republication of these small format devotionals, and the five Mexico City editions of Abreu's more substantive *Desagravios dolorosos de María* between 1726 and 1736, among many others, indicates strong demand.[34]

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[31] Medina *México* 2840, 2973, 3215, 3404.
[32] Medina *Mexico* 2784, 2792, 2852, 3111.
[33] Neither Spain nor Lima experienced the same efflorescence of Novenas during this period, something that only occurred in the later eighteenth century.
[34] A sixth edition appeared in Puebla in 1726 from the press of the Widow of Miguel de Ortega (Medina *Puebla* 351).

In Chapter 3, I argued that the proto-guild system that obtained from around 1650 forward served to regulate access not only to the profession, but also regulated authors' access to publication. In turn, this gatekeeper position occupied by Paula de Benavides served as a means for her family's social ascent, with access to the press being a form of bestowing patronage on authors. Hogal operated following a different model, providing access to publication to a greater number of potential authors and staking his social ascent on financial gain rather than an artificially constricted market.

CARTILLAS AND CONFLICTS, REDUX

Just as Francisco Salbago confronted Bernardo Calderón over the *cartilla* monopoly in 1635, and Francisco Robledo challenged Paula de Benavides in 1641, in 1725, Hogal brought suit in contest to María Candelaria de Ribera's monopoly, offering to raise the price of alms for the Hospital from 55 pesos to 500 pesos. María Candelaria de Ribera had renewed the privilege on 10 March 1724, for a period of 10 years beginning 27 January 1725 at the price of 55 pesos. As a result of Hogal's lawsuit she sought royal confirmation of the grant in a process that ran from December 1725 to June of 1727.[35] While María Candelaria de Rivera awaited the outcome of her case before the Council of the Indies in Spain, José Bernardo de Hogal pressed his case locally.

Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno vs. *Impresor Mayor de la Ciudad*

Much has been made of the fact that María Candelaria de Ribera deployed the title *Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno* in 1727, and Hogal the title of *Impresor Mayor de la Ciudad* in the same year. Francisco Pérez Salazar assures us that Ribera's use of the

[35] For the 1641 renewal, see AGN, General de Parte, vol. 8. exp. 74, fol. 51-52. For the 1724 renewal, see AGN, General de Parte, vol. 31, exp. 86. fol. 55v-56. For the confirmation of the privilege, see AGI, México, leg 566.

title could only have been by "special concession."[36] In fact, the Calderóns and Riberas used the title in an alternate form as early as 1695, and used various versions of it no fewer than seventeen times between 1695 and 1726.[37] Medina acknowledges Paula de Benavides' use of the it in 1698 on the *Relaciones de Avisos,* news sheets that were the precursors of the *Gaceta,* and correctly suggests that there was a relationship between the monopoly on printing *cartillas* and the designation as *Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno*.[38] The press belonging to Bernardo Calderón, in fact, could have been considered the *Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno* from 1631 forward, the date he achieved the *asiento* on *cartillas*. The requirement to provide printing services for the *Audiencia* in return for the monopoly on *cartillas* made Calderón's office the *de facto Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno* in 1631, although the title was not employed until 1695. The title Hogal asserted, that of *Impresor mayor de la ciudad*, is a different but entirely related case. The appearance of both of these stem from Hogal's 1725 challenge to the *cartilla* monopoly, his broader attempts to erode the economic foundations of the Ribera press, and his own need to raise financial and symbolic capital.

On 16 May 1727, about the time his suit to break the *cartilla* monopoly was settled, Hogal appeared before the *cabildo* of Mexico City claiming that every major city in Spain had a printer designated *Impresor mayor de la Ciudad*, with the right to display the coat of arms of the city in his shop. He asked that he be awarded the title for the city of Mexico. In fact, Hogal was engaging in a bit of his typical hyperbole. While Seville

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[36] Francisco Pérez Salazar. *Los Impresores de Puebla en la Época Colonial,* p. 197.

[37] See, for example, the *Relación general donde se darán noticias mas modernas de la Europa*, México: En la imprenta del Gobierno, Por los Herederos de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1695 (Medina *México* 1618).

[38] For the first use of the title, see Medina *México* 1618. For their use on the *Relaciones de Avisos*, see Medina *México* 1708 and 1709. For the relationship between the privilege on *cartillas* and the title, see Medina, *La imprenta en México*. Vol. I, p. CXLIII.

had had an *Impresor Mayor* from 1657, based on surviving imprints it appears that only Córdoba also had a printer so designated, Esteban de Cabrera, who used it beginning in 1715.[39] Nevertheless, his request was granted almost immediately. In a later petition to the Crown, he explained that the privilege included "all the works touching and pertaining to that city….[such as] all the books, *Gacetas*, and other instruments corresponding to that city."[40] Thus the privileges accorded to Hogal by the *cabildo* as *Impresor Mayor de la Ciudad* conflicted with those accorded to the Riberas by the viceroy as *Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno*, particularly in terms of the printing of the *Gaceta*. The majority of the seventeen imprints that used some version of the title *Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno* prior to 1727, for example, were news sheets, the precursors of the *Gaceta,* and the first instance of the *Gaceta* appeared in 1722 from the press of María Francisca de Ribera. Although much has been made of the fact that Hogal attained the title of *Impresor Mayor*, no mention has been made of the fact that only five imprints appeared with this designation, all from 1727; by 1728 and thereafter it had disappeared from his imprints, though he continued to be referred to as such in notarial instruments.

Although María Candelaria de Ribera was successful in beating back Hogal's challenge to the *cartilla* monopoly through an appeal to the Council of the Indies and secured a renewed privilege to take effect 1 January 1728, the victory had come at a cost: the monopoly had gone to public auction and the price of alms for the Hospital had risen

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[39] Juan Gómez de Blas was the first printer in Spain to receive this title, which was accompanied by a financial subsidy from the city. See Francisco Aguilar Piñal. "El Impresor Mayor de la Ciudad." In: *Temas sevillanos (primera serie)*. Seville: University of Seville, 1992, pp. 17-26. Printers in a number of cities were designated the official printer to the city, and used the imprint, "impresor de la ciudad," a slight difference. These were Miguel de Luna in Zaragoza (from 1654), Jerónimo Villagrasa in Valencia (from 1661), and Juan Pablo Martí in Barcelona (1712). Nevertheless, Hogal's claim was a clear exaggeration, and there is no indication that he received a financial subsidy from the city.

[40] AGI, México, leg. 566.

to 800 pesos, more than the 600 peso salary of the *boticario* and equivalent to more than half of the 1,400 pesos contributed by the Royal Treasury.[41] With a fixed sale price of half a *real* for each *cartilla*, the increase in alms reduced the profitability of the monopoly by 745 pesos, and required the sale of an additional 11,920 *cartillas* (12,800 total) to cover the costs of the alms, not to mention the additional expense of the paper and printing supplied to the offices of the *Audiencia* and the viceroy. While the documents detailing the final resolution of Hogal's failed suit with María Candelaria de Ribera have yet to emerge, it is nonetheless possible to make an informed surmise from the surrounding evidence.

Within the context of Hogal's suit against María Candelaria de Ribera over the *asiento* on *cartillas* and the conflicting privileges implied by their respective titles, the remarkably precise alternation between Hogal and María Candelaria de Ribera for the second iteration of the *Gaceta* is highly suggestive.

Joseph Bernardo de Hogal	January 1728-December 1731
María Candelaria de Rivera	January 1732-December 1737
Joseph Bernardo de Hogal and Widow	January 1738-December 1742

Table 31: Printers of the *Gaceta de México* 1728-1742

To this we can add the precise dating of María Candelaria de Ribera's renewed privilege on *cartillas*, 1 January 1728 (previous renewals were randomly dated), and the disappearance of Hogal's title of *Impresor Mayor* following 1727, in order to suggest that the resolution of Hogal's suit included some type of mediated settlement between the competing houses.

[41] INAH, Hospital Real de los Naturales, vol. 106, exp. 52, fol. 226r-v and vol. 101, exp. 24, fol. 37r.

Although the conflict over the *cartilla* monopoly had apparently been settled, with some advantage to Hogal, he continued to push further. While the title of *Impresor mayor de la ciudad* brought with it some printing jobs, such as the *Gaceta*, it was more valuable as symbolic capital, in contrast to the title of *Impresor real del Superior Gobierno*, which included the monopoly on *cartillas*, and thus a steady income from ephemeral publications. Hogal soon sought another title, one that included a steady income from ephemeral and occasionally substantial publications: that of *Impresor del Real y Apostólico Tribunal de la Santa Cruzada.* It was granted by Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa, the tribunal's delegate in New Spain, and in addition to the monopoly on printing the Bulls of the Holy Crusade, it included a monopoly on the *Nuevo Rezado*, the reformed doctrinal works that emerged from the Council of Trent. Hogal used this title frequently until his death in 1741.[42]

Just as the title of *Impresor Mayor de la Ciudad* impinged on the monopoly rights María Candelaria de Ribera enjoyed under the *cartilla* monopoly, so did the title of printer for the Holy Crusade. From 1641 forward, when Paula de Benavides successfully extended her monopoly to include doctrinal texts, the latter were included in each subsequent revision. With Hogal's new title and privilege, he succeeded in further chipping away at works such as the *Nuevo Rezado* that would have fallen under the *cartilla* monopoly.

The issue is more complex, however. The crown had granted the Escorial Monastery monopoly privileges for the sale and distribution of the *Nuevo Rezado* in 1573, and, as such, there is some question over the propriety of Castorena y Ursúa's grant of this title and privilege to Hogal in 1728 (not to mention Paula de Benavides' assertion

[42] AGI, México, leg. 566; and Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. VIII, pp. 392-393.

of it in 1641). The award nonetheless emboldened Hogal, and perhaps marked the high water mark of his career. As he had overreached and over-committed up through 1725, when he was prohibited from acting as guarantor for others' loans, in 1728 Hogal again pushed his limits.

Hogal compiled a dossier seeking additional privileges from the crown. Manuela Cerezo of Puebla de los Ángeles, widow of Miguel de Ortega y Bonilla, had been awarded a monopoly on invitations, funeral notices, and other ephemeral items that had first been granted to Diego Fernández de León in 1688 and confirmed by the crown in 1691. The monopoly passed to Miguel de Ortega y Bonilla when he acquired Fernández de León's press in 1710 and from there to his widow Manuela Cerezo upon his death in 1714. Her attempts to renew the monopoly were denied by the viceroy, but Cerezo won a successful appeal to the Crown in 1725.[43] Hogal sought a similar privilege for the city of Mexico.[44] He adduced testimony from six of his employees: Jerónimo Cirilo de Ibarra, pressman; José Fernández de Orozco, printer; Miguel Fernández de Orozco, printer; Antonio Fernández de Orozco, printer; José de Munguía y Saldaña, compositor; and José Salvador Delgado, bookseller. Each replied to the five question *interrogatorio* Hogal included with his petition, pertaining to the books he had printed, his fabrication of types for printing music, his composition of a text in Greek, the general quality of his work and the orderliness of his shop.[45]

As is typical with these kinds of documents, all replied to Hogal's questions in the affirmative, using virtually identical terms, as if following a script. The most interesting replies surround the fabrication of types for printing music and composition in Greek.

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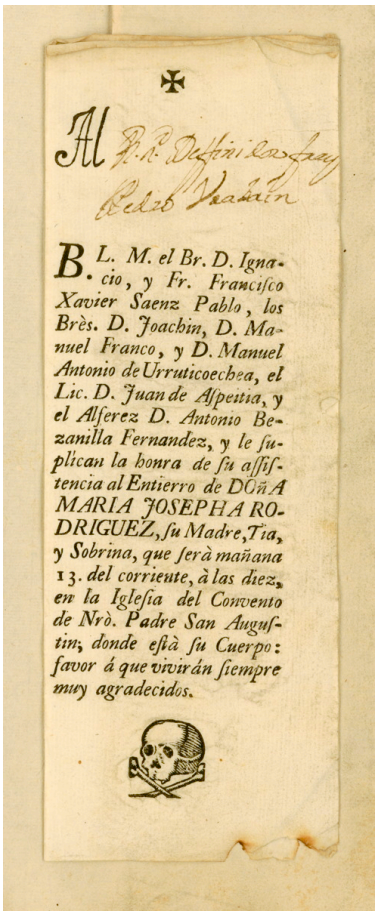
[43] Pérez Salazar. *Los Impresores de Puebla*, pp. 59-60.
[44] AGI, México, leg. 566; and Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. VIII, pp. 392-406.
[45] On civility and order in the print trade, see Adrian Johns. *The Nature of the Book,* particularly Ch. 3.



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B. L. M. el Br. D. Ignacio, y Fr. Francisco Xavier Saenz Pablo, los Brès. D. Joachin, D. Manuel Franco, y D. Manuel Antonio de Urruticoechea, el Lic. D. Juan de Aspeitia, y el Alferez D. Antonio Bezanilla Fernandez, y le suplican la honra de su assistencia al Entierro de DÑA MARIA JOSEPHA RODRIGUEZ, su Madre, Tia, y Sobrina, que será mañana 13. del corriente, à las diez, en la Iglesia del Convento de Nrò. Padre San Augustin, donde está su Cuerpo: favor á que vivirán siempre muy agradecidos.

Illustration 10: Invitation, *circa* 1750.

Regarding the types for printing music, Jerónimo Cirilo de Ibarra responded that "Hogal has been the only composer [e.g. fabricator] of the matrices and founder of the notes and clefs, without the help of anyone else, since no one else knows how."[46] Antonio Fernández de Orozco answered, with reference to composing in Greek, that Hogal executed the job

> [W]ith various and precise Greek characters, not used until now, due to the lack of the necessary intelligence among the masters and journeymen of the press, nor to

[46] "Hogal ha sido el único compositor de las matrices y fundidor de puntos y claves, sin haberle ayudado a ello otra ninguna persona por no saberlo hacer." Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. VIII, p. 396.

> set those of plainsong, that at the cost of imponderable effort [Hogal] has achieved…[47]

For a variety of reasons, it strains credulity that Hogal actually achieved the feats his employees claimed for him, and to date, no text from the period including Greek type has been located.[48] Essentially, the assertion is that he reverse-engineered Gutenberg's invention of moveable type, with all the advances and perfections made up to the eighteenth century, and did so with the expertise of the greatest type-cutters on the Continent, all within six years of his first taking up with a press. The testimony includes claims that an employee of forty years' experience was incapable of the tasks Hogal accomplished, and left in disgrace, and, among the witnesses he presented were the Fernández de Orozco brothers, each of whom had no less than twenty years' experience.[49]

Producing type entails multiple steps: cutting the punch for the letter, striking and justifying the matrix, fitting the matrix into a mold into which an amalgam of molten lead and other metals could then be poured. Although early printing houses included type-cutters and founders, it soon became a specialized industry. By 1657, when Antonio Calderón de Benavides ordered a press from Flanders, he also ordered type, as the heirs of Paula de Benavides did as well in 1687, and María Candelaria de Ribera did in 1733. Hogal himself ordered type from Spain sometime prior to his death in 1741.[50] Yet

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[47] "con varios y precisos caracteres griegos, no practicados hasta ahora, por faltar la precisa inteligencia en los patrones y oficiales del arte, ni para formar los del canto llano, que á costa de imponderable trabajo consiguió el que lo presenta…" Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. VIII, p. 400.

[48] The text in question was referred to as a "*Quintos,"* used for grammar instruction at the Jesuit college of San Pedro and San Pablo. No such title appears in the bibliographical record, but as it was a textbook, it may not have survived.

[49] Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. VIII pp. 392-406.

[50] Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. I, pp. LXXV-LXXXI; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 5583, fol. 3v; AGNot, Esc. 687, Fernando Veedor, vol. 4601, fol. 16v-17v, 26 January 1657; AGNot, Esc. 116, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, vol. 763, fol. 222v-225r, 14 December 1687; Medina, *La imprenta en México*, p. CLXVII; AGNot, Esc. 582, Luís José del Rosal, vol. 3978, fol. 15v-17r

somehow, if this testimony is to be believed, with only six years' experience, Hogal was able to reinvent the process, and then somehow managed to forget.

One of the respondents to Hogal's questionnaire departed from the script in a very telling fashion, however. Bookseller José Salvador Delgado replied to the question regarding the fabrication of types for printing music,

> [Hogal], finding himself without anyone whom he could trust with the success [of the endeavor] and having given his word, closed himself in his house, without letting anyone see, until he achieved it perfectly.[51]

This departure, citing Hogal's secrecy, opens the door to the possibility that the testimonies were perjury.[52] The dossier was complete by late September 1728, and contained documents attesting to Hogal's titles of *Impresor Mayor de la Ciudad* and printer for the Holy Crusade along with the monopoly privileges they entailed, including those pertaining to printing the books of the *Nuevo Rezado*. It was sent to the Council of the Indies for consideration.

For Hogal, this was monumentally bad timing. Just as the crown was considering his petition for added privileges, conflicts over the Escorial's monopoly on the *Nuevo Rezado* were raging in Madrid. Notably, one of the arguments in favor of maintaining the Escorial monopoly, which had been contracted out to the Plantin firm of Antwerp, was that even the type foundries in operation in Spain employed matrices imported from Plantin, casting further doubt on the claims made by Hogal's employees that he had fabricated matrices and types locally.[53] Hogal's petition stalled and his aggressive

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[51] "[H]allándose el que lo presenta sin tener persona de quien fiar el buen éxito y empeñando su palabra, se encerró en dicha su casa, sin permitir lo viese persona ninguna, hasta que lo consiguió en todo perfecto…" Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. VIII, p. 402.

[52] On the issue of privacy vs. publicity, see Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*. pp. 119 and 128.

[53] Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, "Los libros de Nuevo Rezado y la imprenta española en el siglo XVIII," in: *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1999), pp. 117-158, see especially pp. 136-137.

challenges to the Riberas apparently ceased. His petition may have alienated his local supporters who had helped him chip away at the crown-supported privileges the Riberas enjoyed. Hogal's titles of *Impresor Mayor de la Ciudad* and printer to the Holy Crusade were granted by local elites, and his appeal to the crown for additional dispensations was perhaps seen as a betrayal of their support.

Despite retaining the title of printer to the Holy Crusade, Hogal's monopoly over the *Nuevo Rezado* did not survive past 1735. When María Candelaria de Ribera sought confirmation of her *asiento* on *cartillas* following Hogal's suit, the Council of the Indies recognized that it was distinct from the monopoly on *doctrinas* and catechisms. At the end of the 10-year term that had begun in 1725, in 1735 she began using the title of printer of the *Nuevo Rezado* in addition to *Imprenta Real del Superior Gobierno.*[54] In other words, the Council of the Indies reasserted its authority over a portion of Castorena y Ursúa's grant of that privilege to Hogal.

The intense competition between Hogal and the Riberas appears to have subsided following his failed attempt to gain a monopoly over invitations and other types of ephemera. Perhaps he had begun to learn his limits, but it was also at about this time that he was no longer under the injunction prohibiting him from guaranteeing loans. At its conclusion in 1729 however, it appears as though Hogal's financial situation had not radically improved, as he sold one of his slaves in early November of that year.[55] Then in June 1732, he contracted a loan of 2,000 pesos, and, though he requested a six-year term, the loan was approved for a term of only three years.[56] Perhaps to bolster his request and

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[54] See, for example, Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, *Vida del venerable Padre don Pedro de Arellano, y Sosa*. Mexico: María de Ribera, 1735 (Medina *México* 3364).
[55] AGNot, Esc. 235, Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, vol. 1465, fol. 310r-v, 9 November 1729.
[56] AGN, Bienes Nacionales, vol. 53, exp. 41, fol. 1r-6v.

assert his financial trustworthiness, Hogal published the *Sermón fúnebre* by Fray Sebastián de Santander y Torres in 1732 using the imprint,

> Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, past official of the treasury and paymasters general of the army of Your Majesty (may god protect) in the Provinces of Andalucía, with the rank of Cavalry Lieutenant: Minister and printer of the Apostolic and Royal Tribunal of the Holy Crusade in all this New Spain.[57]

This is the first, and, as far as I have been able to determine, only time that Hogal used such an imprint. Then in early October of the following year, 1733, Hogal again sold off three slaves, at prices well below the going rate.[58] Finally, in August of 1736, his creditors came calling for the principal on the 2,000 peso loan contracted in 1732. Hogal successfully negotiated a delay in the collection, but the issue generated a thick volume of documents along with other scattered files in the Ramo Civil in Mexico's National Archive and the matter was still unresolved upon his death in 1741.[59]

Hogal's economic fragility during this period led his apprentices to take steps to ensure that he would fulfill his obligations to them. Apprenticeship contracts were not unknown before Hogal, though they are far from abundant. Thus far, I have encountered only three—two with Juan Blanco de Alcázar in 1626 and 1642, and one with Paula de Benavides in 1660. Juan Pascoe writes, "[I]n New Spain, no system of apprenticeship was instituted for printers: existing printers did not wish to fill society with trained youth looking for inexistent work: thus they were not cultivated."[60] Nevertheless, there were no fewer than six apprenticeship contracts with Hogal drawn up between 1732 and 1738.

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[57] Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, Oficial que fue de la Tesorería, y Pagaduría General de los Ejércitos de S. M. (que Dios guarde) en las Provincias de Andalucía, con grado de Teniente de Caballos: Ministro, è Impresor del Apostólico, y Real Tribunal de la Santa Cruzada en toda esta Nueva-España (Medina *México* 3261).
[58] AGNot, Esc. 137, Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, vol. 844, fol. 301r-302r.
[59] AGN, Civil, vol. 148.
[60] AGNot, Juan Pérez de Rivera, Esc. 497, 2[…] November 1626. Pérez Salazar. *Los Impresores de Puebla en la Época Colonial,* pp. 9-12; AGNot, Esc. 685, vol. 4592, fol. 88v-89r, 10 June 1660. Juan Pascoe. *Cornelio Adrián César en la Nueva España*. Santa Rosa: Taller Martín Pescador, 2012, p. 4.

The first of these was done on 8 November 1732 with Esteban Álvarez de Soto, aged nineteen at the time, who later went on to become administrator of Hogal's printing office following his death in 1741.[61] While essentially these contracts were entered into to define the mutual obligations of master and apprentice, the early contracts with Juan Blanco and the later contracts with Hogal appear to be more concerned with protecting the apprentices from their masters' failures to fulfill their commitments. Juan Blanco was a complicated figure. His 1626 contract with the fourteen-year-old *indezuelo* Diego Alonso of Tlatelolco, suggests he was taking on something of a truant, and his contract with Manuel de Olivos came in 1642, when Blanco was prohibited from printing under his own name and played a role in the Palafox controversies. Conversely, the contract with Paula de Benavides, undertaken with a *mestizo* apprentice, was canceled within three years. Given her success, it seems more likely that this was the result of some failing on the apprentice's part than on hers. There were no doubt more of these contracts, perhaps still to be located in the archives, perhaps destroyed during the *cabildo* fire of 1692, nevertheless, the apparent absence of apprenticeship contracts from the period 1692 to 1732, suggests that their appearance following that year, all with Hogal, represents an actual change from earlier practice, rather than an apparent change due to different survival rates of the documentary record.

Hogal's contract with Esteban Álvarez de Soto was executed in November of 1732, shortly after Hogal took on a 2,000-peso loan. The contract covered only a 3-year term, one short of the 4-year term specified in the other contracts, and its end date roughly coincided with the due date of that loan. At nineteen, Álvarez de Soto was also at a somewhat advanced age for an apprentice, suggesting that he may have been

[61] AGNot, Esc. 137, Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, vol. 843, fol. 390v-392r, 8 November 1732.

formalizing an agreement contracted one year (or more?) earlier and was a bit wary of his employer's ability to fulfill his side of the agreement. Likewise, four of the remaining five agreements were done in February of 1735, on the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th. Three of these were back-dated to 1 January of that year, and the fourth front-dated to 12 December 1735.[62] The three back-dated contracts were for apprentices aged fifteen to eighteen, while the fourth apprentice was aged only fourteen at the time the contract was signed, suggesting that the delay was in order to wait for the apprentice's fifteenth birthday. In January of 1735, that is, one month prior to the spate of contracts, Hogal had equipped the second press in Havana, Cuba, at a cost of 4,310 pesos, a debt that proved difficult for him to collect.[63] Likewise, with Esteban Álvarez de Soto's apprenticeship still in effect, the new apprentices may have learned of the 2,000 peso debt contracted in 1732, which would come due in a few short months. As such, it seems likely that the contracts appeared when they did, in rapid succession, in order for the apprentices to hold their employer to account for his obligations.

CONCLUSION

The central argument here has been that José Bernardo de Hogal spent his first decade in New Spain building both symbolic and financial capital via his competition over titles with María Candelaria de Ribera and a program of reprinting small format devotionals for a wide popular audience. During his second decade in New Spain, Hogal over-extended himself to such a degree that his symbolic capital was not sufficient to mask his eroding financial situation. In some respects, Hogal's early attempts to build financial and symbolic capital may be seen as "innovations," a Peninsular "modernizing" the

[62] AGNot, Esc. 139, Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, vol. 846, fol. 67r-70r, 71r-72v, 15-18 February 1735.
[63] AGNot, Esc. 139, Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, vol. 846, fol. 34v-35v, 27 January 1735. For more on Hogal and the second press in Cuba, see, Kenneth C. Ward, "Dos hallazgos reciente sobre los primeros impresores de La Habana." In preparation.

conservative practices of a trade that had been dominated by two or three families for close to a century. At the same time, these innovations and modernizing efforts were disruptive to long-standing practice, and disturbed powerful social networks the Riberas' had established over the course of a century. To what degree were Hogal's financial difficulties provoked by his disruptions of these networks; in other words, the result of machinations by the entrenched interests? To what degree did his own poor financial management provoke his financial difficulties? The existing documentation provides some clues. In a codicil to his will, dated 10 July 1741, Hogal mentioned that his son Manuel José de Hogal sent him a cross and earrings encrusted with diamonds, worth 1,500 pesos, and that he should not ask for them as part of his paternal inheritance, but instead share equally with his siblings in the remainder of his estate. If Manuel had asked for them back, it would have put Hogal in an awkward position, since he had sold them to Juan Ramón Marcilla two years earlier for 1,600 pesos. Hogal also mentioned that in his youth in Seville, he had tended the cashbox of don Juan Plazes, and "if by chance there might have been something impious in my youth in the management of his property" then, should there be anything remaining of his estate, the inheritors of don Juan Plazes should be given 500 pesos in recompense.[64] In other words, Hogal's career was marked by financial malfeasance—including thievery—from beginning to end.

Nevertheless, Hogal's successful appeal to the *cabildo* for the title *Impresor Mayor de la Ciudad* drove a wedge into the near-monopoly that the Calderóns and the Riberas had enjoyed for nearly a century. Although failing in his 1725 suit to break the Ribera monopoly on *cartillas,* Hogal pushed the wedge further, extracting from

[64] AGNot, Esc. 235, Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, vol. 1467, not foliated, 5 Dec 1739; AGNot, Esc. 582, Luís José del Rosal, vol. 3978, fol. 15v-17r.

Castorena de Ursúa the title of printer for the *Santa Cruzada* on 14 August 1728, and appealing to the crown for additional privileges on 9 September 1728.[65]

The conflict over the *asiento* on *cartillas*, particularly the dramatic inflation of the alms required from 55 pesos to 800 pesos, along with the appearance of the *Gaceta*, provide a rough index of a change in the audience for materials offered by printers in Mexico. Mexican printers primarily produced utilitarian works aimed at an educated elite, supplementing their offerings with books imported from Spain. Put within a larger context, the broader shift in the character of the reading material on offer by printers in New Spain in the early eighteenth century illustrates both the growth of the literate population and the changing forms of economic competition between these two houses. From the early eighteenth century, with the appearance of the *Gaceta* and particularly following the arrival of José Bernardo de Hogal, we see an efflorescence of Novenas and other lay devotional texts, cheaply produced and cheaply sold, printed, and reprinted for a broader popular audience.[66] The substantial increase in the price of the privilege on *cartillas*, while a clear attempt at putting economic pressure on the Riberas in order to break their monopoly, can also be taken as an indication of a vastly increased demand, reflecting an increase in the viceroyalty's literate population. Likewise the appearance of the *Gaceta*, despite its early demise, presupposes a literate audience large enough to sustain the endeavor. Hogal's reprinting of previously issued works, particularly small-format devotionals, is yet another indication of a robust literate market.

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[65] AGI, México, leg. 566.

[66] A continuation of this trend can be seen with the appearance of printers José Ambrosio de Lima (1744-1746) and Nicolás Pablo de Torres (1752-1754). Only three works printed by Ambrosio de Lima survive, all small format novenas. From Pablo de Torres, only seven survive, all but one a small format devotional of one printed sheet or less. See Medina, *La imprenta en México*. Vol. 1 p. CLXX and CLXXII.

The efflorescence of reprints at this point, with Hogal's arrival, suggests that there may have been an artificially constrained production for the local market prior to his arrival, one that was dominated by the Calderóns and the Riberas. There are indications in the questionnaire that Hogal produced in 1728 that this was the case. In question four, his employees were asked, and affirmed,

> [T]hat there is no incident, even the most verbose, or thing, even the most difficult, that [Hogal] can not produce with regard to the ministry *even though they are completely denied by other printers in the kingdom*? (Italics mine).[67]

Although the competitive landscape had begun to change in the 1690s with the appearance of new printers, Hogal's arrival in 1721 marked the most profound shift in printers' practices since the entrance of Francisco Salbago and Bernardo Calderón in 1628 and 1630, respectively.

The closure and sale of the Calderón press on Calle San Agustín in 1750 may have been simply a sound business decision, consolidating the family business to the Empedradillo location. But for the historian, it carries some symbolic significance as well. The San Agustín site carried with it the association of Calderón's ties to Spain, while the Empedradillo printing office and bookstore is properly associated with the Riberas, who had been long established in Mexico by the time of Calderón's arrival. During the seventeenth century, the Calderóns and Riberas adroitly navigated the creole/peninsular divide, and this was one of their strategies for success. It is difficult not to see the closure of the San Agustín press as an abandonment of the families' ties to Spain, at least symbolically, and as marking a wholehearted assumption of a creole identity.

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[67] Emphasis added. "Si saben que no hay incidente, aún el más prolijo, ó cosa, aún la más dificultosa, que no pueda practicar tocante á el ministerio cuando están totalmente negados á ella los demás impresores de el reino?" Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. VIII, p. 398.

In the competition with Hogal, particularly given the fact that he had but recently arrived from Seville, it is tempting to argue that he represents the peninsular side of the dichotomy; however, as is usually the case with such convenient categories, things are much more complex. The Hogal press reached its apogee under the leadership of his widow, Rosa Teresa de Poveda, and the administration of his first apprentice, Esteban Álvarez de Soto. In 1746, they issued two titles that were very substantial and important, both intellectually and symbolically. The first of these is Cabrera y Quintano's *Escudo de Armas de México*, that celebrates the victory of the Virgin of Guadalupe over the plague that lashed Mexico in 1735, and her being crowned patron saint of Mexico. The second is *Teatro Americano*, by José Villaseñor y Sánchez.[68] Much like the *relaciones geográficas*, Villaseñor's text provides a compendium of information on the kingdom of New Spain. After printing, copies were sent to the Council of the Indies. They immediately ordered that every exemplar be boxed up and sent to Spain, and that any that were in circulation be collected and shipped as well.[69] From the sixteenth century forward, there had been repeated royal orders that no work such as the *Teatro Americano* be printed in the Americas without prior approval of the Council, but the *Teatro's* breach of these royal orders was perhaps the most profound of any that had come before.

Both of these texts are deeply important, symbolically, to the developing creole sense of identity, the former for the importance of Guadalupe, the latter as a symbolic statement of autonomy and coequal status. Thus it seems odd that both were produced by a peninsular Spaniard, rather than the generations-old press of the creole Riberas. But rather than pit creole against peninsular, the apparent paradox may instead reflect tensions within the creole community itself, between the *cabildo* and the *Audiencia*,

[68] Medina *Mexico* 3752 and 3802
[69] Medina, *La imprenta en México*, vol. V, pp. 44-45.

between conservatives and advocates of a more liberal approach, that would become more obvious as the century proceeded and the Bourbon Reforms began to have greater effects.

Epilogue and Conclusion

María Candelaria de Ribera, *doncella*, died on 24 October 1754, and was buried in the Dominican convent on the 28th.[1] The Empedradillo press continued to function under the imprint "Heirs of María de Ribera" until 1768. Medina was unable to determine who these heirs were, suggesting only that the materials were later acquired by the cleric José Jáuregui based on the continuity of the privilege on the *Nuevo Rezado* between one and the other.[2] Pérez Salazar likewise was unable to locate María Candelaria's testament in the Notarial Archive, though he suggests that her heirs were perhaps her nephews.[3] Research for the current project has uncovered a series of *poderes de testar* issued by María Candelaria between 1715 and 1754, and in the latter, she names as her executors and heirs her brother, Manuel de Rivera, and her nephew, José Jáuregui.[4] The press continued under these two diocesan clerics until Manuel's death in 1766, when it came entirely under the control of José Jáuregui. Jáuregui continued active until his death in 1778 and the press continued to function under his heirs until 1791 when his nephew, José Fernández de Jáuregui assumed full ownership. In 1800, it passed to his sister, María Fernández de Jáuregui, following a legal dispute, and continued operations until 1817, even though María Fernández had died two years earlier, bringing to a close over 200 years of the Calderón family dynasty.[5]

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[1] AHSS, Fondo Congregación de San Pedro, Libro 23, Libro de registro de los cofrades, fol. 91r.
[2] Medina. *La imprenta en México*. pp. CLXXV, CLXXXI.
[3] Pérez Salazar. *Los impresores de Puebla*. pp. 198-199, 236-238.
[4] AGNot, Antonio de Adán, Esc. 27, vol. 196, fol. 55r-56v.
[5] On the Jáuregui press, particularly under María Fernández de Jáuregui, see Ana Cecilia Montiel Ontiveros. "La imprenta de María Fernández de Jáuregui: Testigo y protagonista de los cambios en la cultura impresa durante el periodo 1801-1817." Ph.D. Thesis (History). Universidad Complutense de Madrid: 2009.

As for the competing Hogal press, following the death of José Bernardo de Hogal, it passed to his widow, Rosa Teresa de Poveda, and was administered by his former apprentice, Esteban Álvarez de Soto. Upon Poveda's death in 1755, for the next decade it was operated by her heirs, until 1766 when it passed to her son, cleric José Antonio de Hogal.[6] Where his father had failed, José Antonio succeeded, wresting the monopoly on *cartillas* from the Riberas in 1767, and along with it the title of *Impresor del Superior Gobierno*. In this role he was called upon to print the Jesuit expulsion letter of the same year. It is not immediately clear if the two circumstances are related, but the question is worthy of further investigation. But like father, like son. Either a scoundrel or just financially incompetent, José Antonio failed to fulfill his obligation to pay alms to the Royal Hospital of the Indians and by 1782 he owed 3,330 pesos. He lost the monopoly to Pedro de la Rosa, a printer in Puebla de los Ángeles, and nearly lost his press as well, virtually ending his production of bookwork. In the following year he turned his attention to printing lottery tickets, and only one more book appeared from his press, five years later in 1787.[7]

Although new competitors continued to appear over the course of the eighteenth century, notably the Jesuit press located at the Colegio de San Ildefonso (1748-1767) and the press of Felipe Zúñiga y Ontiveros and his descendants (1761-1825), the Riveras remained prominent and active.[8] Manuel de Rivera and José Jáuregui took over the press

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[6] In his testament, dated 3 July 1730, Hogal named six children: Manuel (16), Manuela (13), José (5), Bernardina (4), Pedro (1) and María, yet to be born. AGNot, Toribio Fernández de Cosgaya, Esc. 235, vol. 1466, fol. 146v-148v.

[7] INAH, Hospital Real de los Naturales, exp. 83.1.

[8] On the Jesuit press of San Ildefonso, see Martha Whittaker. "Jesuit printing in Bourbon Mexico City: the press of the Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1748-1767." Ph.D. Thesis (Library Science), University of California, Berkeley, 1998. On the Zúñiga y Ontiveros press see Manuel Suárez Rivera. "Felipe y Mariano de Zúñiga y Ontiveros : impresores ilustrados y empresarios culturales (1761-1825)." Licenciatura Thesis (History), Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005 and "En el arco frontero al palacio : análisis del inventario de la Librería de Cristóbal de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1758." Masters Thesis (History), Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009.

of the Biblioteca Mexicana in 1757, following the death of its owner, Juan José Eguiara y Eguren, the cleric and bibliographer from whom this study takes its title. María Fernández Jáuregui published many works by the conservative cleric and bibliographer José Mariano Beristaín y Souza, and the first volume of his *Biblioteca mexicana* appeared in 1816 with the imprint "Oficina de D. María Fernández de Jáuregui."

FINAL REFLECTIONS I: ON THE ISSUE OF GENDER

Would the seventeenth century still have been the "century of the widows" if Paula de Benavides had not lived an extraordinarily long life, or had she done as Agustina Calderón did in Spain, remarrying into the book trade and out-living two of her three husbands? Prior to Benavides' appearance, the widows at the head of presses in Mexico had very brief tenures, and in Peru, for example, women's involvement was nowhere near as prominent, or at least, as visible. There, Francisca Gutiérrez Caballero led the printing house that had belonged to her husband, Juan Quevedo y Zárate from his death in 1679 to hers in 1694, and while her output was mainly ephemeral, the one book she issued in 1694 appeared with her husband's name as printer, not by "la viuda de..." In fact, only one Peruvian text, not registered by bibliographers but in the collection of the National Library of Spain, bears such an imprint, Diego de Ojeda Gallinato's *Relación de las fiestas reales, que esta Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de los Reyes celebró este año de 1659 al nacimiento feliz de nuestro Príncipe,* printed in 1659 by "la viuda de Julián Santos." As with Francisca Gutiérrez Caballero, however, her one subsequent work, Bartolomé Badillo's *Instrucción de testamentos,* appeared in 1675 with the imprint "en la imprenta de Julián Santos de Saldaña" without the qualification, "la viuda de…"

It is not clear, in fact, to what degree Paula de Benavides, her daughter, and their female descendants were directly involved in the day-to-day operations of the business,

setting type, correcting proofs, folding and sewing gatherings, or attaching covers, for example. Only one document unequivocally confirms a woman's expertise with these tasks, and that relates to Feliciana Ruiz, granddaughter of Juan Ruiz, "so capable and adept in the art of printing" that he left his press to her.[9] For the Calderón clan, there is strong and ample evidence that these tasks were overseen by an administrator. We know that Pedro de Quiñones returned to work for the Calderóns in 1641, for example, and likely served as its administrator as Juan José Arizmendi would a century later.[10]

It is unlikely that Paula de Benavides or María de Benavides were involved with tasks such as composing type or correcting proofs, since neither knew how to sign her name. While there are numerous documents in the Archivo General de la Nación that appear with what Pérez Salazar took to be their signatures, in Notarial documents, both protest their inability to sign.[11] Close comparison of the documents in the AGN with those in the Notarial archive reveals that the "signatures" were in fact accomplished by the notaries themselves. Of course, not knowing how to sign one's name does not necessarily imply not knowing how to read, nor an inability with arithmetic, but for Paula and María de Benavides, the documents reveal very little in this regard. At the same time, at the risk of imposing modern notions of "traditional" gender roles, they certainly may have been involved with folding the sheets and sewing the gatherings, as well as attaching the covers. The long list of binding supplies in María de Benavides' Empedradillo shop suggests that this may have been the case.

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[9] Pérez Salazar. *Los impresores de Puebla*. p. 239.
[10] AGN, Inquisición, vol. 528, exp. 3, fol. 301.
[11] See, for example, Paula de Benavides' *poder de testar,* AGNot, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, esc. 116, vol. 762, fol. 232v., and a *carta de pago* by María de Benavides, dated 20 April 1688, AGNot, Juan de Castro Peñalosa, esc. 116, vol. 763, fol. 107r.

Setting aside literacy and numeracy, lacking one, the other, or both need not have precluded Paula and María de Benavides from high-level oversight and management of the business. Paula de Benavides' 1660 protest to the Inquisition for short changing her on payment for the 1659 *Auto de fe* is particularly revealing in this respect. Although not in her own hand, one gets the strong impression of her voice. Keeping in mind that her son, Antonio Calderón de Benavides, had been named official printer to the Inquisition 1649, with no document alluding to a transfer to Paula de Benavides, one must ask why she presented the bill and the protest in 1660 rather than her son. More curious still is the fact that, in her objection, she specifically states that she, not Antonio Calderón, produced the 1649 *Auto de fe.* On the one hand, Antonio Calderón's appointment as printer to the Inquisition was certainly advantageous to his clerical career, but on the other, it appears from Paula de Benavides' 1660 complaint and the notification of printers in 1655 that the business was thoroughly under her control.

Jumping ahead to the early eighteenth century, neither María Francisca de Ribera nor María Candelaria knew how to sign their names when Gertrudis de Escobar died in 1714, although María Francisca soon learned how to. Following her death in 1722, María Candelaria de Rivera did as well. Clearly something had changed, but was that something attributable to gender or something else? Paula de Benavides was, for forty-three years, one of the arbiters and gatekeepers for literate culture in New Spain, but nevertheless, never signed her name. Within thirty years of her death, however, it appears as though this ability was mandatory. Was this change attributable to changes in gender norms, expectations related to those involved with the "lettered city," or those related to commerce more generally? In this regard, it should be emphasized that this change occurred before José Bernardo de Hogal arrived and challenged María Candelaria de Rivera.

There are some clear indications of the Calderóns taking advantage of prevailing gender-related norms, expectations, and customs that have been referenced above. For example, Bernardo Calderón's marriage to Paula de Benavides prior to his return to Spain was perhaps to ensure an easy return to Mexico. Likewise, Paula de Benavides' appeal to the viceroy for the *cartilla* monopoly was couched in terms of maintaining her large family. But María Candelaria de Rivera remains something of a puzzle. Why did she remain unmarried, *doncella*, throughout her life? Why did she choose to be buried in the Dominican convent and invoke Jesús de Chalma as her patron, rather then the Franciscan chapel of the Third Order and a Marian devotion as had virtually all other members of her family? What was her relationship to Elena Durán, who donated the wax shop to her? Finally, and perhaps most puzzling, what are we to make of her *declaración* from 1752, in which she states that, although it is publically believed that she is the sole owner of the Empedradillo printing office, in fact it was half-owned by her brother Manuel?[12] In other words, books from the Empedradillo press should have been issued with the imprint "Heirs of the widow of Miguel de Ribera" between 1732 and 1754, rather than with her name alone.

Women's role in the book trade in Mexico was clearly different than was the case in Peru. Perhaps with her long life, Paula de Benavides established a family practice, possibly even a local trade practice, considering the decade long career of Gerónima Delgado, widow of Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio. It certainly appears as though something like a gendered division of labor evolved, in which women in the Calderón family led the business, while sons and brothers entered clerical careers, at least through the early eighteenth century. As previously argued, by design or coincidence, this helped

[12] AGNot, Esc. 591, Phelipe Romo de Vera, vol. 4031, fol 59r-v. On *declaraciones*, see Katherine Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru,* Durham: Duke University Press, 2010, pp. 98-104.

to drive business to the press and bookstore, as clerics both produced and consumed the majority of printed works. There are many questions yet to be resolved, and they are worthy of serious critical attention, beyond a simple celebration of women's participation in the trade.

FINAL REFLECTIONS II: THE BOOKTRADE IN NEW SPAIN, 1600-1760

Figure 4 charts the annual output of all printers at work in New Spain between 1600 and 1760, and the arguments in the preceding chapters help us to understand the shape of the curve. Drawn from the *Catálogo Colectivo de Impresos Latinoamericanos*, the chart presents some peaks and valleys that require explanation prior to a discussion of the data more generally. Many of the peaks represent clustering of entries of uncertain date, but known to have been produced no earlier than a particular year. This is the case for the peak at 1600, for example, that reflects titles known to have been produced in the seventeenth century but not more precisely. Likewise, the peak at 1640, the supposed origin date of printing in Puebla de los Ángeles, clusters Puebla imprints of uncertain date but produced no earlier than that year. The peaks at 1720 and 1721 reflect undated imprints by José Bernardo de Hogal and his presumed arrival date in Mexico. Similarly, the peak at 1685 reflects undated imprints produced by the Heirs of the Widow of Bernardo Calderón who succeeded Paula de Benavides in that year. Some of the other peaks likewise reflect clustering of undated imprints produced by printers known to have begun their careers in one year or another. Conversely, the dips around 1705, 1719 and 1741 correspond to known periods of acute paper shortages.

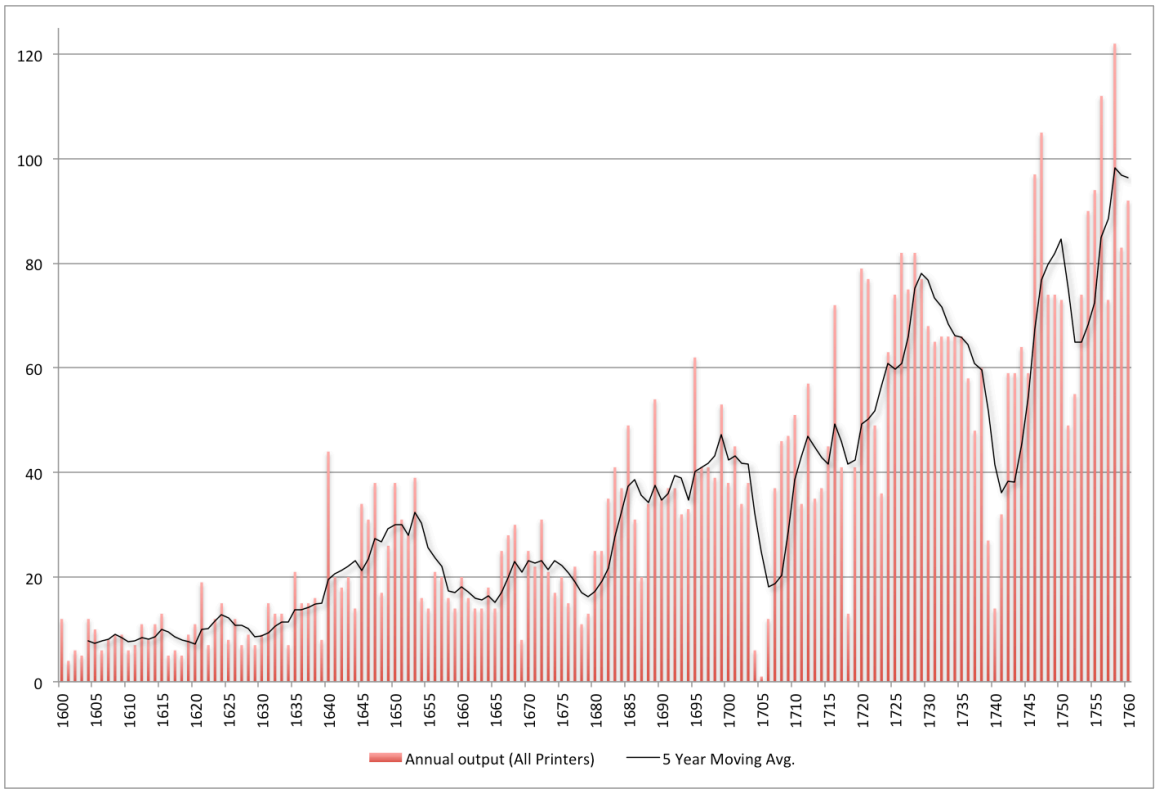

Figure 3: Annual Output of all Printers in Mexico and Puebla, 1600-1760

Following a gentle increase in output through 1640, that conflicted decade, which included Palafox's pamphlet war with the Jesuits, is clearly represented by an almost doubled annual output. Following his departure, annual production contracts to only slightly above what it had been prior to his arrival. Even with Paula de Benavides' near monopoly, the reappearance of a press in Puebla in 1654, and the opening of Rodríguez Lupercio's in 1657, annual output remains fairly consistent. It only begins to rise around 1667, when the Calderóns' direct family ties to Spain were at an end, and then again more significantly in the mid-1680s following the deaths of Paula de Benavides and Juan de Ribera. The date roughly coincides with the appearance of Diego Fernández de León in Puebla, but may also reflect a somewhat slacker grip over the proto-guild with the deaths of its most prominent figures. The most dramatic increase, however, comes

following José Bernardo de Hogal's arrival in 1721, with his aggressive program of reprinting previously published works and small format devotionals.

Some authors have attributed New Spain's relatively reduced production of the seventeenth century, and Latin America's rather limited printed output more generally, to both the "decline" thesis and the consequent "dependency" of both the colony and Spain itself on presses operating elsewhere in Europe.[13] However, viewing the Calderóns as one node in a vast commercial network affords a different perspective. The Calderón clan enjoyed familial and commercial relationships with Seville through the 1660s, and these relations in Seville were in turn linked to printers and booksellers throughout Europe. Although printers easily could have reprinted titles that saw repeated importation from Spain, both the high cost of paper, and the lost business to their continental partners militated against such an enterprise. At the same time, by exercising a strong gatekeeper role, the Calderóns controlled access to publication, which was crucial to career advancement for clerics and other authors. Hogal's arrival in 1721 altered this artificial restriction on production in the viceroyalty and the tremendous increase in annual output following his arrival strongly suggests that there was significant unmet demand from readers and from authors hoping to get into print. Although the Calderóns and Riberas adapted to changed business practices, by and large, they continued to be largely conservative throughout the eighteenth century through the disappearance of the press in 1817.

[13] See, for example, Olivia Moreno Gamboa, *La librería de Luis Mariano de Ibarra, Ciudad de México, 1730-1750*. Mexico: Ediciones de Educación y Cultura, 2009, pp. 17-26.

Appendices

Appendix A: Maps

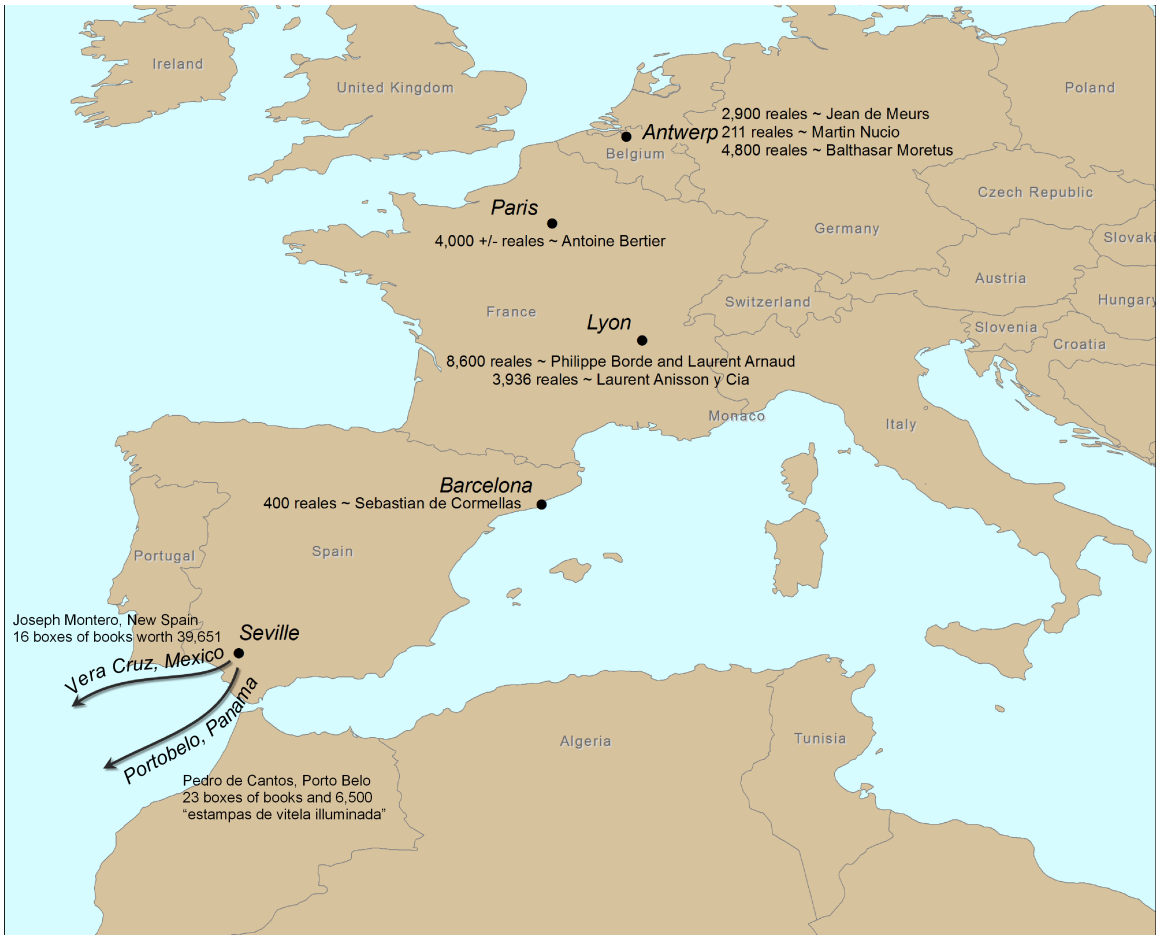

Figure 4: Cities mentioned Juan López Ramón's testament

Figure 5: Spain and Portugal

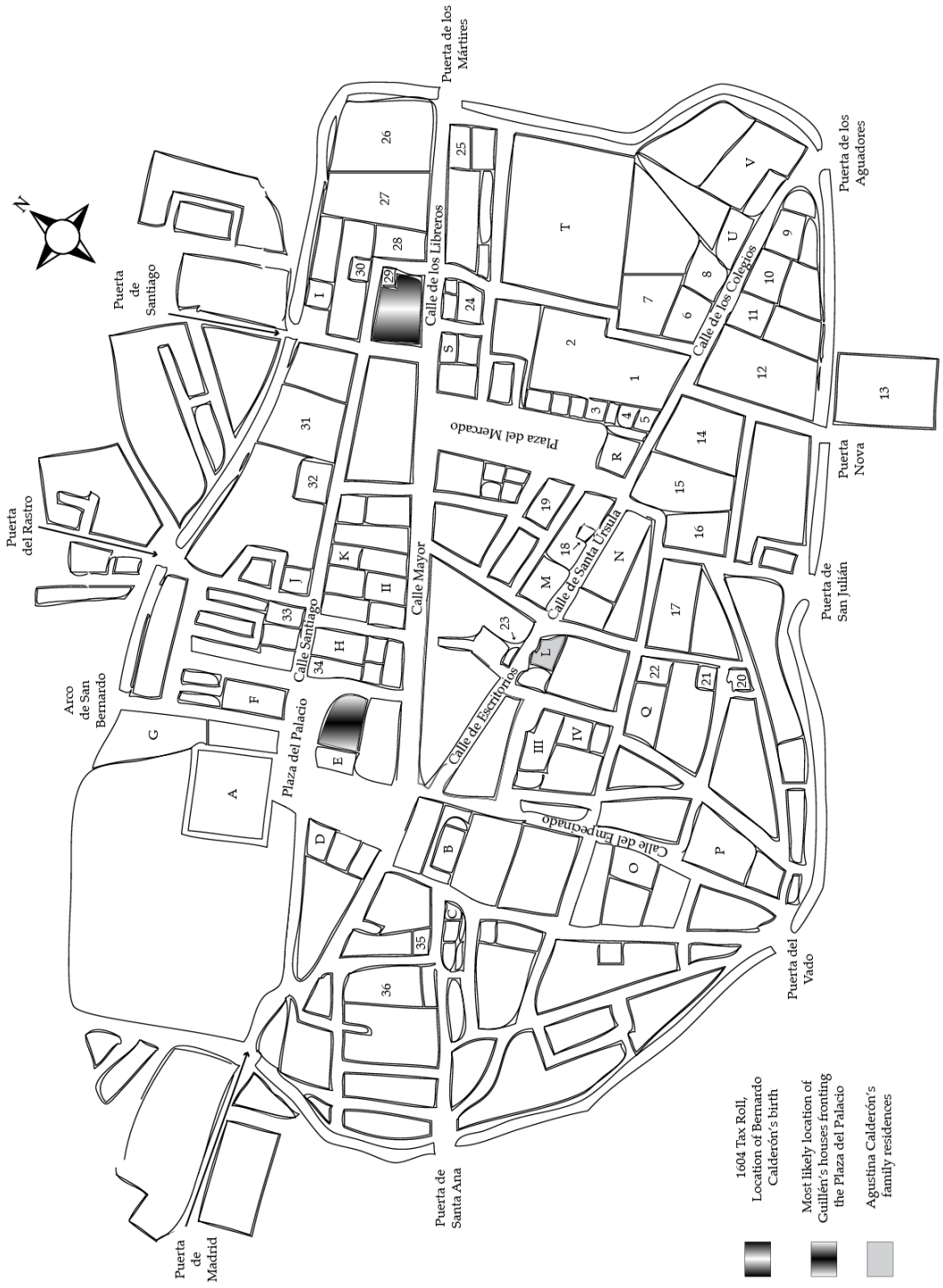

Figure 6: Alcalá de Henares *circa* 1600-1670

Legend:

Hospitals:

I) Hospital de S. Lucas y San Nicolás
II) Hospital de Ntra. Sra. De la Misericordia
III) Hospital de Sta. María la Rica
IV) Hospital de S. Juan de Dios

Church properties:

A) Palacio Arzobispal
B) Iglesia Magistral
C) Ermita de Sta. Lucía
D) Convento de S. Juan de la Penitencia
E) Oratorio de S. Felipe Neri
F) Convento de Dominicos de la Madre de Dios
G) Monasterio de S. Bernardo
H) Convento de la Imagen
J) Iglesia de Santiago
K) Convento de Capuchinos de Sta. María Egipciana
L) Convento de Agustinas Descalzas de Sta. María Magdalena
M) Convento del Carmen Calzado
N) Convento de Sta. Úrsula
O) Convento de Dominicas de Sta. Catalina de Siena
P) Convento de Mercenarios Descalzos
Q) Convento de Ntra. Sra. de la Esperanza
R) Iglesia de Santa María
S) Seminario de Ntra. Sra. del Prado o de Talavera
T) Convento de Franciscanos de Sta. María de Jesús
U) Ermita del Cristo de los Doctrinos
V) Convento de Carmelitas de Afuera

Colegios:

1) Colegio Mayor de S. Ildefonso
2) Colegio Menor de S. Pedro y S. Pablo
3) Colegio de S. Leandro
4) Colegio de Sta. Catalina
5) Colegio de la Madre de Dios
6) Colegio Menor de S. Bernardo
7) Colegio de Sta. Balbina
8) Colegio Menor de Trinitarios Calzados
9) Colegio de S. Basilio Magno
10) Colegio de Mercenarios Calzados
11) Colegio de Santiago o de los Caballeros Manríquez y Colegio de Santiago y Calatrava
12) Colegio de Dominicos de Sto. Tomás de Aquino
13) Colegio de Carmelitas de S. Cirilo
14) Colegio de Calzados de S. Agustín
15) Colegio de Málaga
16) Colegio de Trinitarios Descalzos
17) Colegio de Caracciolos
18) Colegio de S. Clemente Mártir
19) Colegio de Agonizantes
20) Colegio de S. Lucas Evangelista o de Magnes
21) Colegio de los Stos. Justo y Pastor o de Tuy
22) Colegio de S. Cosme y S. Damián
23) Colegio de Irlandeses
24) Colegio de S. Juan Bautista o de Vizcaya
25) Colegio Menor de Sta. Catalina de los Verdes
26) Colegio Máximo de la Compañía de Jesús
27) Colegio del Rey
28) Colegio de León
29) Colegio de S. Eugenio
30) Colegio de S. Isidoro
31) Colegio de Agustinos de S. Nicolás de Tolentino
32) Colegio de S. Martín y Sta. Emerenciana o de Aragón
33) Seminario Colegio de S. José o Pupilaje de Ávila
34) Colegio de Lugo
35) Colegio de Stas. Justa y Rufina
36) Colegio de Sta. Paula o de los Mínimos

Figure 7: Cities With Presses in the Americas

Figure 8: Cities with Presses in Mexico

Figure 9: New Spain

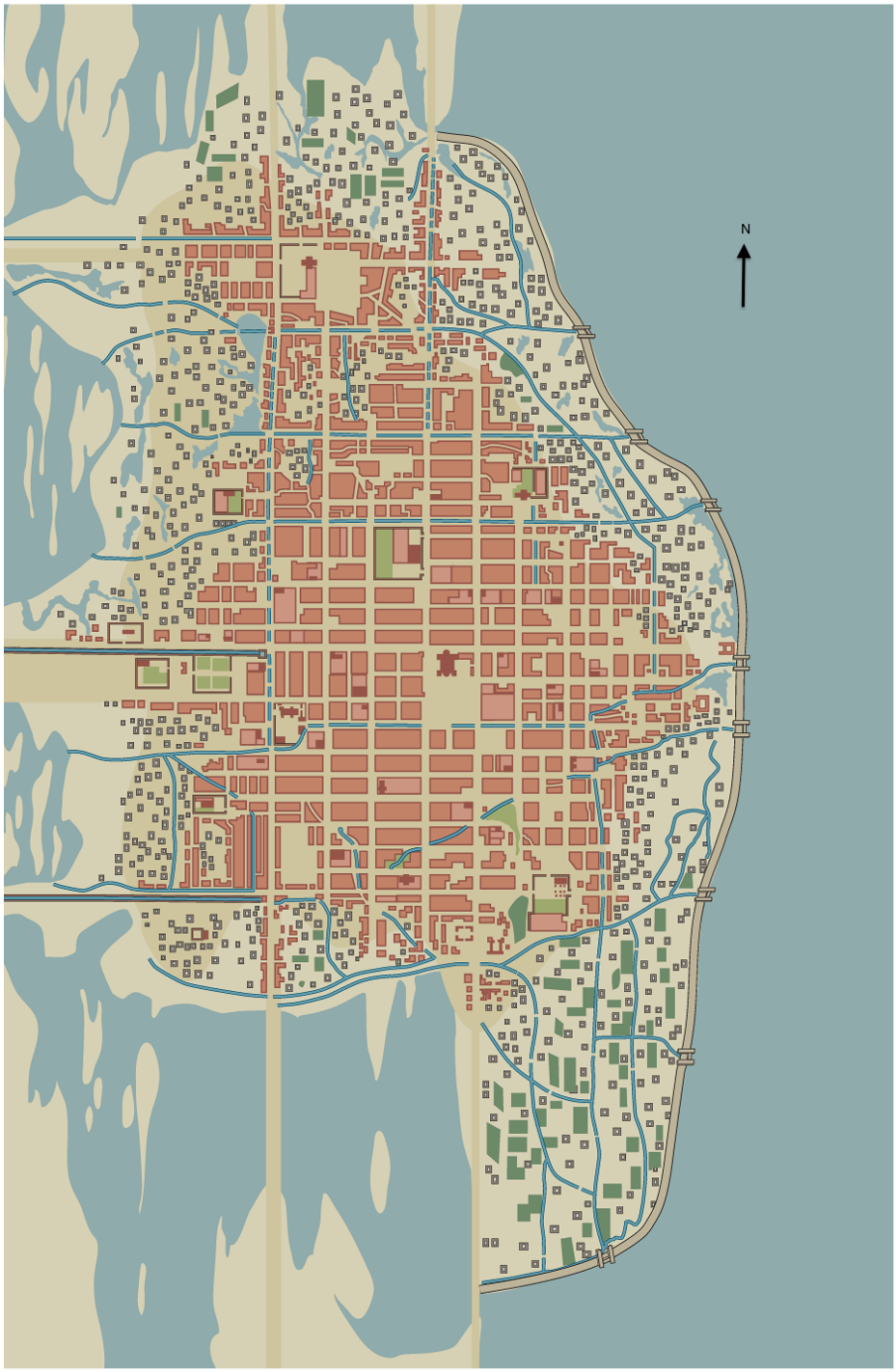

Figure 10: Mexico City

APPENDIX B: GENEALOGICAL CHARTS

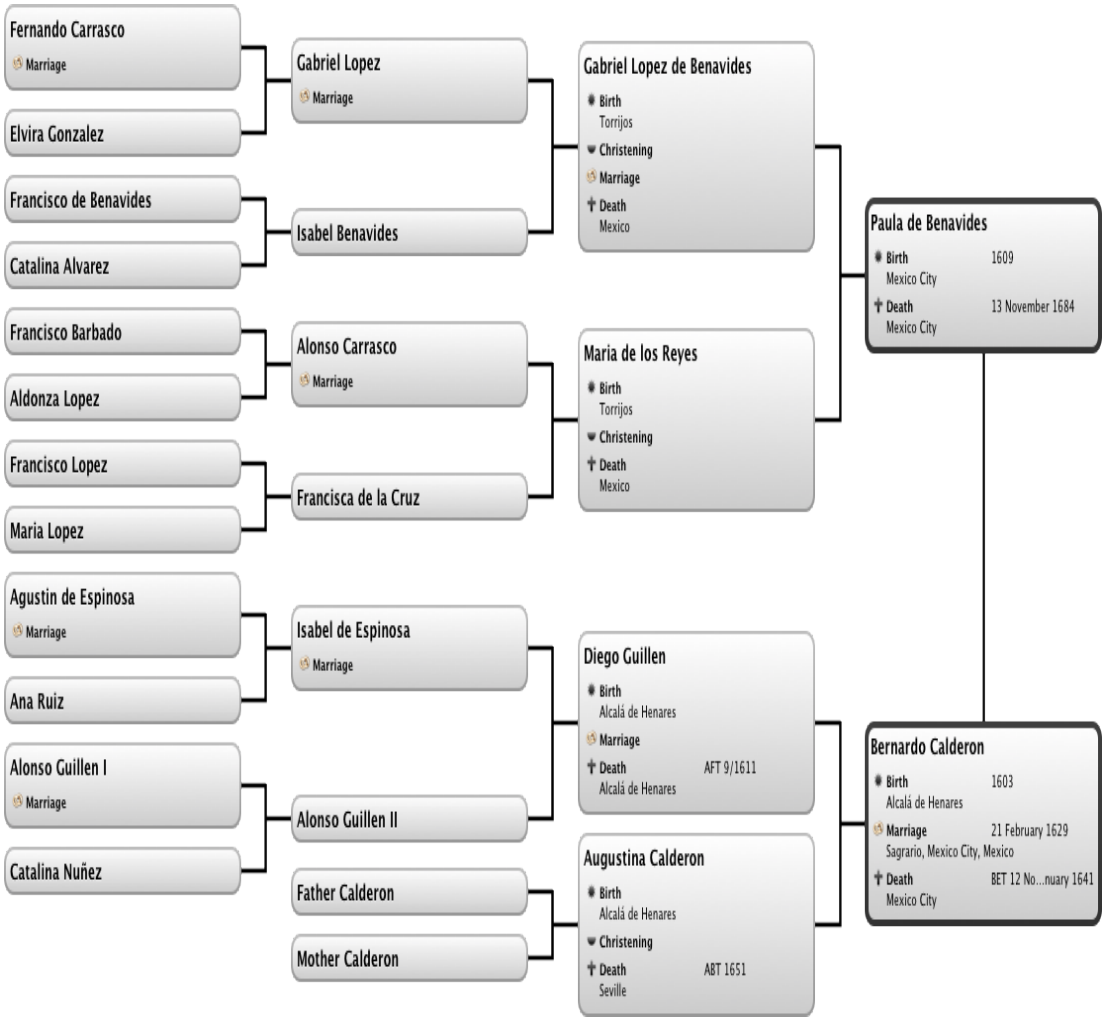

Figure 11: Ascendants of Bernardo Calderón

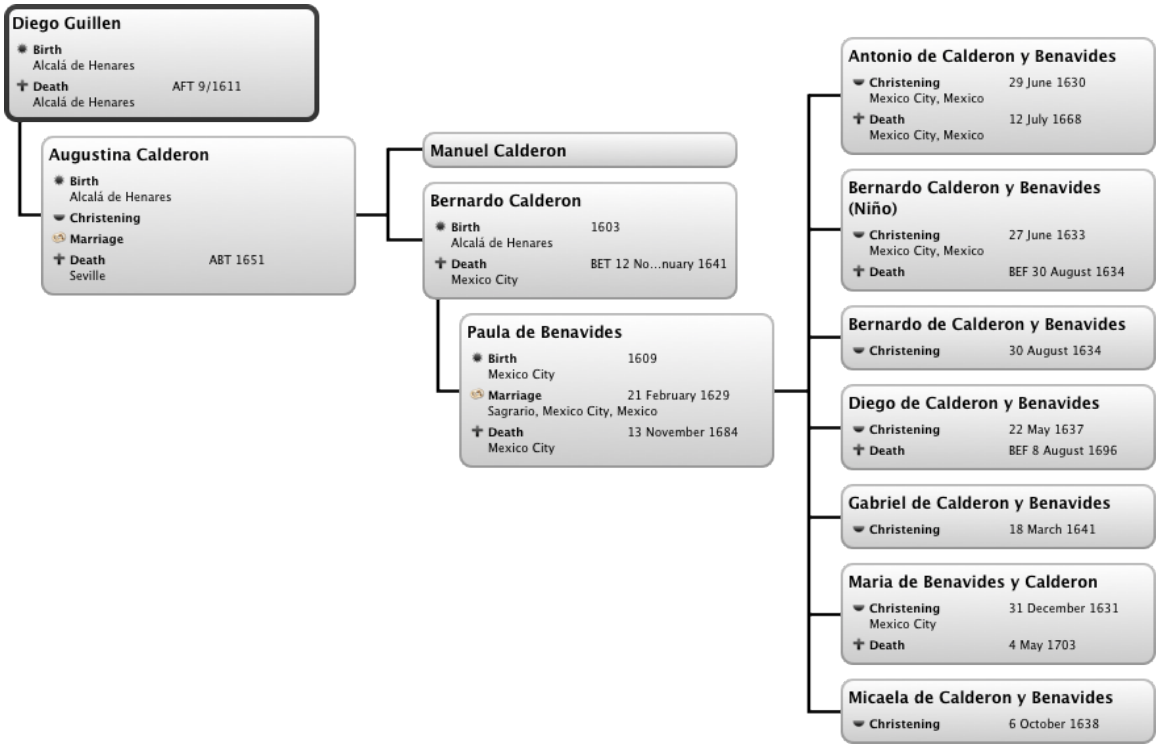

Figure 12: Descendants of Diego Guillén and Agustina Calderón

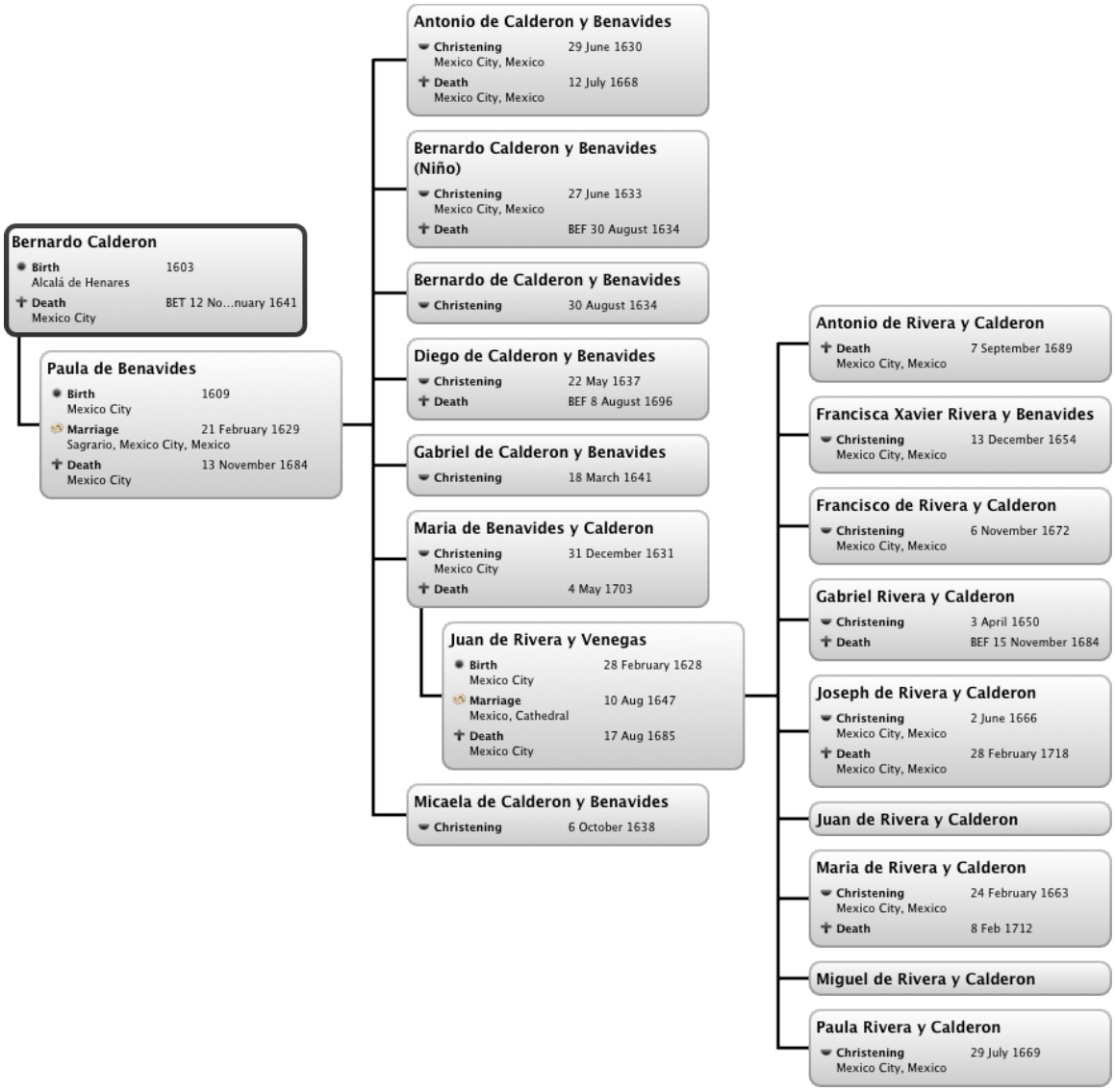

Figure 13: Descendants of Bernardo Calderón and Paula de Benavides

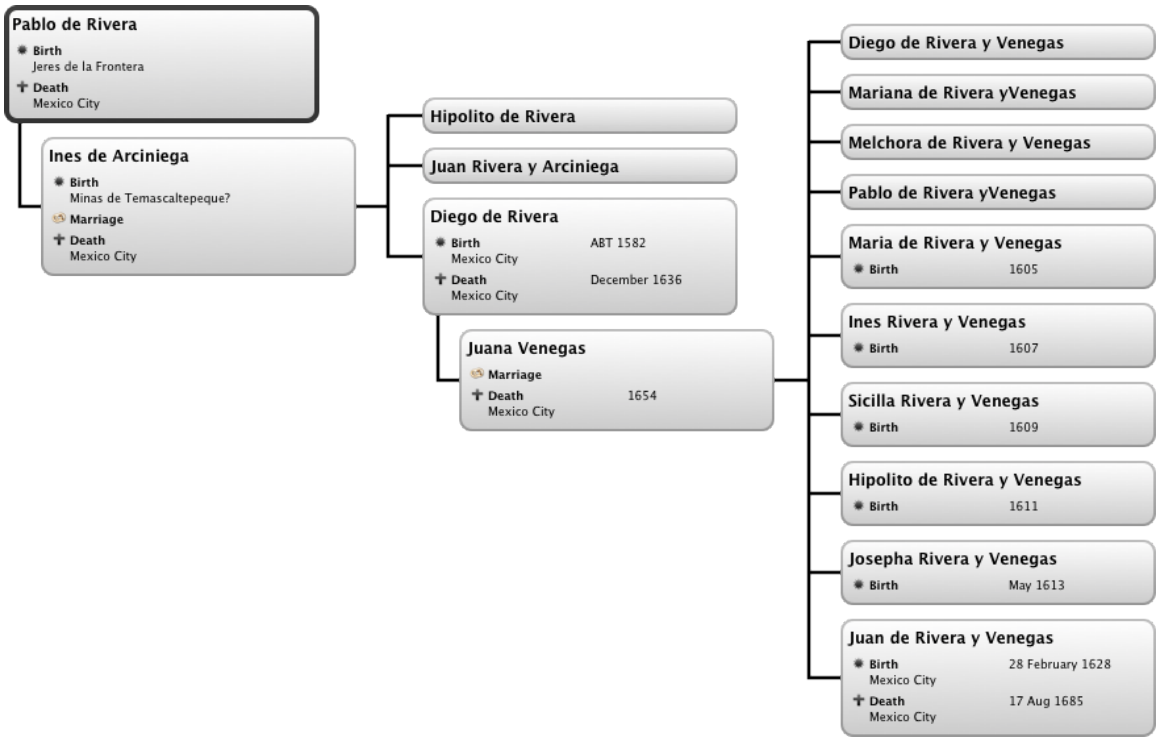

Figure 14: Descendants of Pablo de Ribera

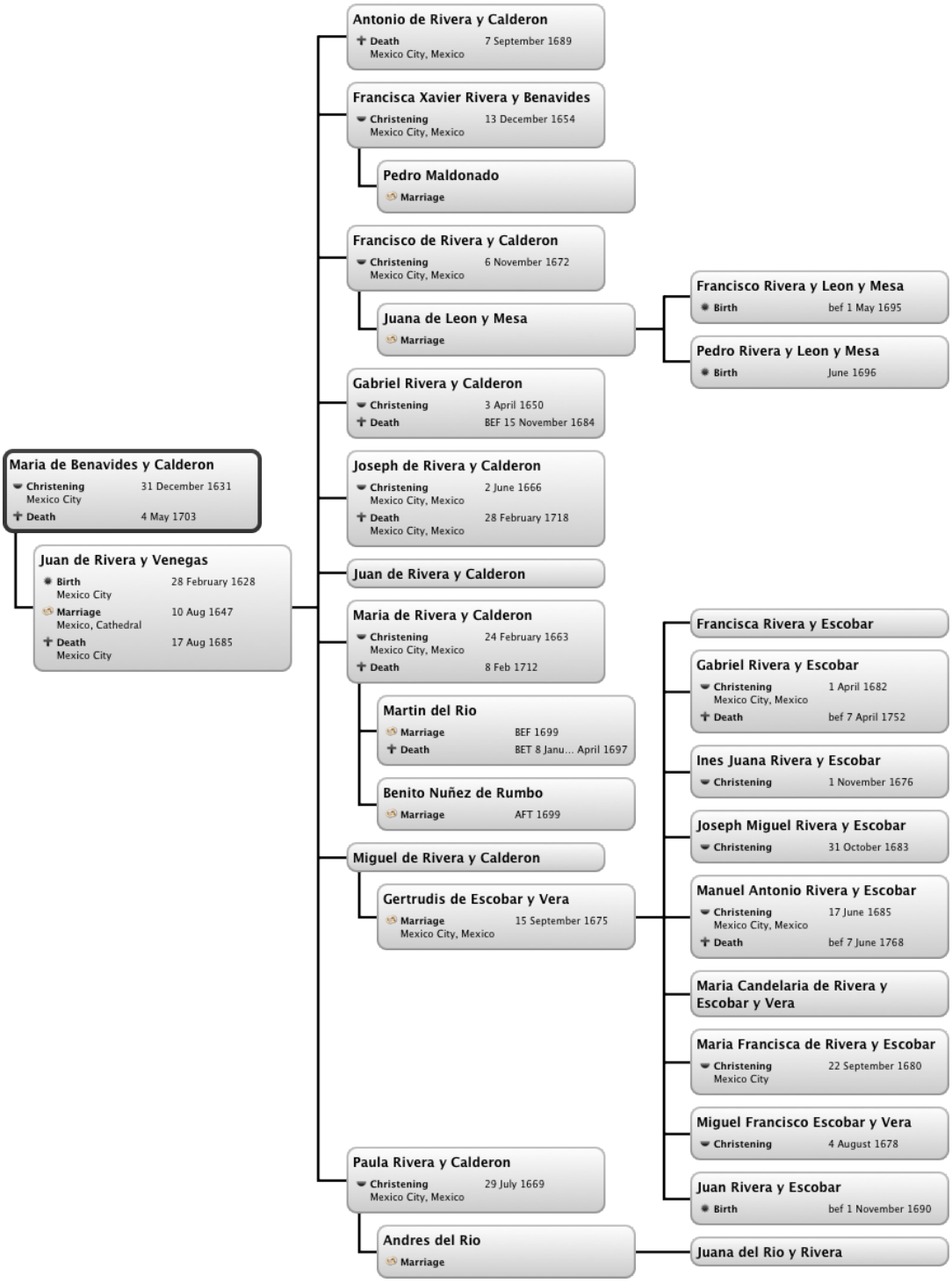

Figure 15: Descendants of María de Benavides and Juan de Ribera

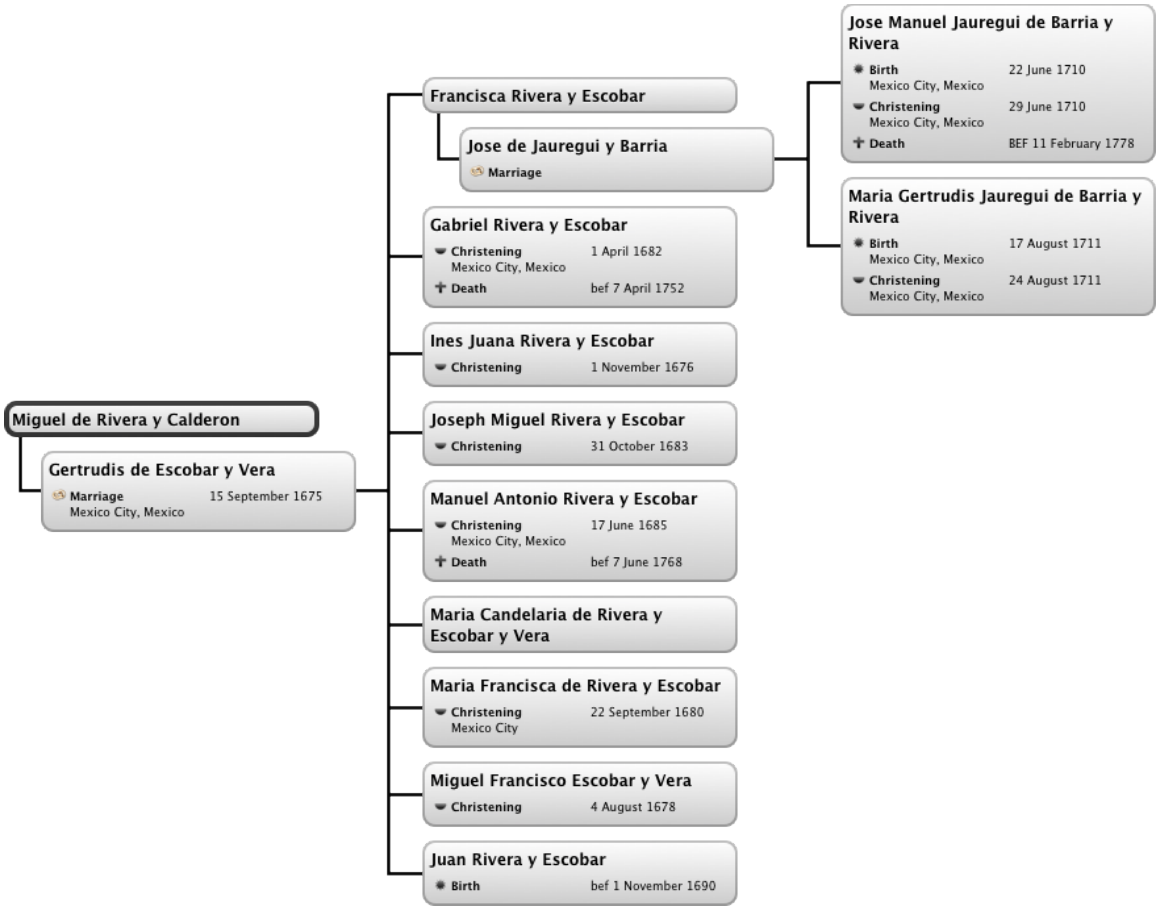

Figure 16: Descendants of Miguel de Ribera and Gertrudis de Escobar

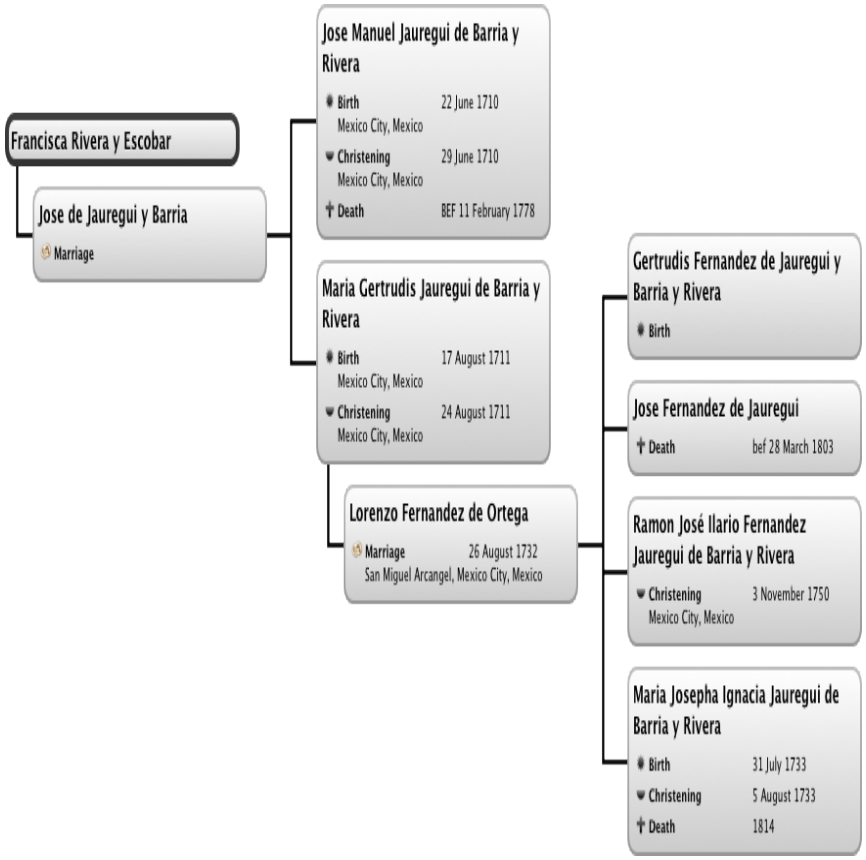

Figure 17: Descendants of Francisca de Ribera and José Jáuregui

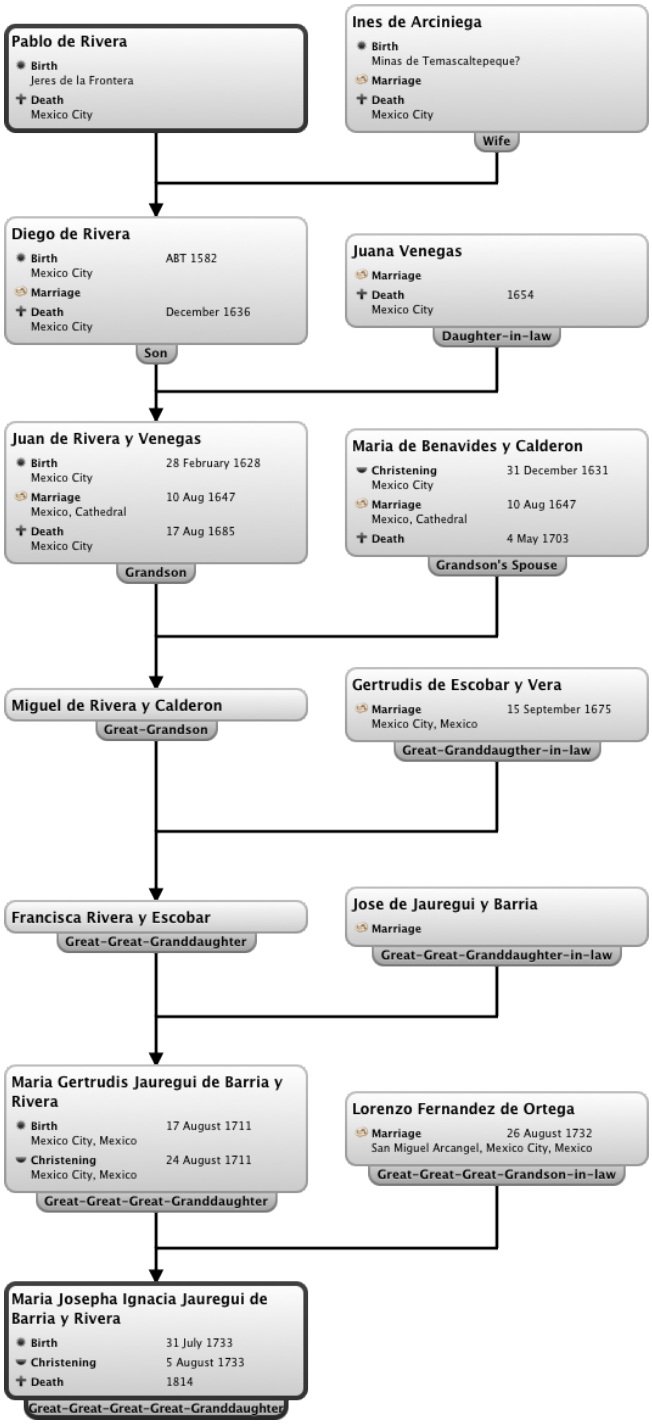

Figure 18: Descent from Pablo de Ribera to María Fernández de Jáuregui

APPENDIX C: BOOKS FUNDED BY DIEGO GUILLÉN

González de Torneo, Francisco. *Practica de escribanos.* Alcalá de Henares: Juan Gracián, 1591. 8º, 44 sheets.

Malón de Chaide, Pedro (d. 1589). *Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena*. Alcalá de Henares: Juan Iñíguez de Lequerica, 1592. 8º, 46 sheets.

Ortiz Lucio, Francisco (d. 1591). *Lugares comunes.* Alcalá de Henares: Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1592. 2º, 154 sheets.

Malón de Chaide, Pedro (d. 1589). *Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena*. Alcalá de Henares. Juan Gracián. 1593. 8º, 46 sheets.

Solís, Rodrigo (d. 1583). *Arte dada del mismo Dios a Abraham para le servir perfectamente*. Alcalá de Henares: Juan Gracián *que sea en Gloria,* 1594. 4º, 75.25 sheets.

Solís, Rodrigo (d. 1583). *Segunda parte del arte de servir a Dios perfectamente*. Alcalá de Henares: Juan Gracián *que sea en Gloria,* 1594. 4º, 76 sheets.

Ayerve de Ayora, Antonio. *Tractatus de partitionibus bonorum*…Alcalá de Henares: Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1595. 2º, 123 sheets.

Malón de Chaide, Pedro (d. 1589). *Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena*. Alcalá de Henares: Juan Iñíguez de Lequerica, 1596. 8º, 46 sheets

Moreno, Cristóbal (d. 1603). *Libro intitulado Jornadas para el Cielo*. Alcalá de Henares: Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1596. 4º, 87 sheets.

Malón de Chaide, Pedro (d. 1589). *Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena*. Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1598. 8º, 46 sheets.

Pérez de Moya, Juan (d. 1596). *Aritmética practica, y especulativa*. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1598. 8º, 24.5 sheets.

Castillo Sotomayor, Juan del (d. 1640). *Quotidianarum controversiarum juris liber primus*. Alcalá de Henares: Viuda de Juan Gracián, 1603. 2º, 209 sheets.

Council of Trent. *Sacrosancti et oecumenic Concilii Tridentini…*Alcalá de Henares: Justi Sánchez Crespo, 1604. 8º, 65 sheets.

Blois, Louis (d. 1566). *Obras de Ludovico Blósio*. Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1605. 2º, 208 sheets.

Montesino, Ambrosio. *Epístolas y evangelios según lo tiene y canta la santa madre Iglesia Romana*…Alcalá de Henares: Juan Gracián, 1608. 2º, 144.5 sheets.

Murcia de la Llana, Francisco. *Selecta circa libros Aristotelis: De Anima subtiloris*…Alcalá de Henares: Ludovicum Martinez Grande, 1609. 4º, 66 sheets.

Murcia de la Llana, Francisco. *Selecta circa libros Aristotelis: De coelo subtilioris doctrine*…. Alcalá de Henares: Ludovicum Martinez Grande, 1609. 4º, 22 sheets.

Murcia de la Llana, Francisco. *Selecta circa libros Aristotelis: De generatione, et corruptione*…. Alcalá de Henares: Ludovicum Martinez Grande, 1609. 8º, 37.25 sheets.

Sá, Manuel de. *Aphorismi confessariorm ex doctorum sententiis collecti*. Alcalá de Henares: Andrés Sánchez de Ezpeleta, 1609. 16º, 26 sheets.

Toledo, Francisco (d. 1596). *De instructione sacerdotum & peccatiis mortalibus libro octo*…. Alcalá de Henares: Andrés Sánchez de Ezpeleta, 1610. 4º, 133 sheets.

APPENDIX D: OF GHOSTS AND ZOMBIES

Although Chapter Three is concerned principally with situating the origins of printing in Puebla within the general context of Palafox's tenure in Mexico—and to do so in a way that is broadly historical rather than narrowly bibliographical—the literature attempting to identify the first imprint to emerge from a Puebla press is sufficiently confused that at least a brief discussion is warranted. In 1890 Agustín de Rivera y San Román authored a small pamphlet in which appears the conjecture Palafox was responsible for establishing a press in Puebla.[1] It was written in response to Joaquín García Icazbalceta's entry "Tipografía Mexicana" in the *Diccionario universal de biografía y geografía*, in which one finds the odd claim that in Puebla, "printing was there from 1653, at the latest, according to my information."[2] García Icazbalceta was undoubtedly aware of Palafox y Mendoza's *Historia real sagrada* (1643) and the errant date of 1653 that appears in "Tipografía Mexicana" was most likely a simple compositor's error. At the same time, it is possible to read the error as expressing a rather sophisticated idea in overly elliptical fashion: In light of the fact that, with two minor exceptions, all of the Puebla imprints prior to 1654 were produced by tradesmen originally at work in Mexico City, the odd assortment of printers that appear in Puebla, and the their intermittent publications, one could reasonably argue that a press was not truly "established" in Puebla until the appearance of Juan de Borja Infante in 1654. In other words, that the first decade of printing in Puebla may better be considered its "pre-history," to borrow Ambrosio Fornet's phrasing in reference to the early decades of the press in Havana.[3] One might

[1] Agustín de Rivera y San Román. *Fundación de la imprenta en Puebla*, Lagos: Tipografía de V. Velóz, 1890, pp. 1-2.
[2] "Imprimióse allí desde 1653, por lo menos, según mis noticias." García Icazbalceta, "Tipografía mexicana," In: *Obras de D. J. García Icazbalceta*, vol. VIII, p. 231.
[3] Ambrosio Fornet, *El libro en cuba: siglos XVIII y XIX*, La Habana: Letras Cubanas, 1994, p. 12.

also suggest that the apparent absence of clear documentary evidence surrounding the press in Puebla prior to 1654 may reflect its semi-clandestine nature.

Rivera y San Román's article was itself more concerned with the bibliographical record and establishing a chronology for printing in Puebla, with the Palafox conjecture appended seemingly as an afterthought. In reply to Joaquín García Icazbalceta's "Tipografía Mexicana," Rivera y San Román scoured José Mariano Beristaín y Souza's *Biblioteca hispano americana setentional*, and identified ten references to Puebla imprints prior to 1653.[4] He presented them in reverse chronological order, ending in 1640 with Mateo Galindo's *Arco triunfal: Emblemas, Geroglificos é Inscripciones, con que la ciudad de la Puebla recibió al Virey de la N. E., Marqués de Villena.* The latter is one of three titles most frequently suggested by bibliographers to antedate the *Sumario* of 1642. Two of these, discussed below, have been more accurately identified through subsequent research but the *Arco triunfal* still appears in the literature as the first Puebla imprint. A. W. Pollard introduced the word "ghost" to refer to phantom titles of uncertain existence, which John Carter more precisely defined as "a non-existent book or edition or issue erroneously included in some work of reference which by repetition has achieved a misleading semblance of reality."[5] In the case of Mateo Galindo's *Arco triunfal*, "ghost" is too benign a term; the title is more like a zombie returned from the grave to consume the bibliographer's brains.

The title appears as the first entry in Medina's *La imprenta en Puebla*, under the author Mateo Salcedo, which he renders as follows: [6]

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[4] Beristain y Souza, *Biblioteca hispano americana setentional,* Amecameca: Tipografía del Colegio Católico, 1883-97

[5] John Carter, "Query 233. Ghosts," in: *The Book Collector,* Winter 1968, p. 493.

[6] NB: in the citations of bibliographical entries, I have retained the original orthography, accents, and punctuation.

Salcedo (P. Mateo)

> Arco triunfal: Emblemas, geroglificos y poseías con que la ciudad de la Puebla recibio al Virrey de Nueva España, Marques de Villena. Por el P. Mateo Salcedo. Impreso en la Puebla de los Angeles, 1640, 4.°

In the introduction to his volume, Medina ventilates the long and vexing bibliographical trail of this title, extending as far back as 1676. It is first cited under the author "Matthaeus Galindo" in Nathaniel Southwell's 1676 revision of one of the earliest bio-bibliographies dedicated to Jesuit authors, Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu*.[7] As if to exemplify the pernicious agency of this zombie title, Medina, in fact, cites "Nicolás Sotwel" rather than Nathanial Southwell, and gives the publication date of his bibliography as 1776 rather than 1676, errors which Salvador Ugarte carried forward in 1943.[8]

Ribadeneyra's bibliography first appeared in 1602, and saw republication with additions in 1608, 1609, 1613 and 1643, followed by Southwell's revision of 1676. Galindo's work did not appear in the version of 1643, however, the entry in the 1676 edition gives the title:

> "*Librum Emblematum, Hieroglyphicorum, et Carminum quibus exceptus est Prorex Marchio de Villena*, Angelopoli 1639."

For reasons that are by no means clear, not to mention with the effect of significantly muddying the waters, Andrés González de Barcia's second edition of Nicolás León Pinelo's *Epitome de la bibliotheca oriental, y occidental, y geografica* gives the entry:[9]

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[7] Medina, *La imprenta en la Puebla*, p. V-VII; Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu,* Nathaniel Southwell, ed., Rome: Iacobi Antonij de Lazzaris Varesij, 1676, p. 596.
[8] Salvador Ugarte, *Notas de bibliografía Mexicana,* México: Imprenta Aldina, 1943, p. 11.
[9] Nicolás León Pinelo, *Epitome de la bibliotheca oriental, y occidental, y geográfica*, Andrés González de Barcia, ed., Madrid: Francisco Martínez Abad, 1737, vol. II, col. 859.

> "P. Mateo Salcedo: *Emblemas Geroglificas,* i Poesías con que fue recibido en Mexico el Marquès de Villena, impreso en la Puebla de los Angeles, 1639, 4.°."

Not only has the author's name changed, but also the title has been rendered in Spanish and the location of the event transferred from Puebla to Mexico. Although the book's quarto format has been added to the description, the year is still rendered as 1639. Since Diego Roque López Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, Duke of Escalona, Marquis of Villena, did not arrive in Veracruz until July of 1640, this is clearly not correct, suggesting that González de Barcia did not see an actual copy of the book, but how then did he determine the format other than by pure—but entirely reasonable—speculation?

Nicolás Antonio's (1788) entry appears to be drawn directly from Southwell's, including the biographical information that Galindo was born in Michoacán and died in 1667. For the title, he renders it virtually identically:[10]

> "*Librum Emblematum, Hieroglyphicorum, & Carminum* quibus exceptus est prorex marchio de Villena, Angelopoli 1639."

Beristaín y Sousa perhaps drawing on Southwell and González de Barcia, includes entries for both Mateo Galindo and Mateo Salcedo. For Galindo, the entry reads:[11]

> "Arco triunfal: Emblemas, Geroglificos é Inscripciones, con que la ciudad de la Puebla recibió al Virey de la N. E., Marqués de Villena." Imp. en la Puebla, 1640, 4.° (p. 5).

And for Salcedo:

> "Emblemas de los Geroglíficos y Poesías con que fué recibido en la Ciudad de la Puebla el Virey de N. E., Marqués de Villena." Imp. En la Puebla, 1640. 4.

[10] Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca hispana nova*, vol. 2, p. 116.
[11] Beristaín y Sousa, *Biblioteca hispano americana,* vol. II, p. 5, and vol. III, p. 96

For both authors, Beristaín corrects the errant date of 1639 to 1640, and adds, with reference to the Salcedo entry, "León Pinelo [sic] erred in writing that the reception of which P. Salcedo speaks was in Mexico."[12]

Ternaux Compans most likely drew his entry directly from González de Barcia, citing the author as Salcedo, and the year 1639:[13]

> Emblemas yeroglificas y poesias con que fue recibido en Mexico el marques de Villena, por el P. Mateo Salcedo. Puebla de *Los Angeles.* 1639. In-4. °

Vicente de Paula Andrade's entry is drawn directly from Beristaín, and includes both Salcedo and Galindo, along with Pedro Salmerón's *Vida de Sor Isabel de la Encarnación* that appeared earlier in Beristaín.[14] Interestingly, Vicente de Paula Andrade notes the 1675 Mexico City edition of this title "that does not refer to this one [of 1640]."[15] As Medina correctly observes, the licenses and aprobaciones appearing in the preliminaries of the latter are dated 1675, thus an earlier edition could not have been issued, putting to rest the first of the two ghosts mentioned above.[16]

Aloys de Backer and Carlos Somervogel (1890-1900) likewise include entries for Galindo and Salcedo, most likely drawn from Southwell and Beristaín. For Galindo, in addition to biographical information, the entry reads:[17]

> "Arco triunfal: Emblemas, Geroglificos e Inscripciones, con que la ciudad de la Puebla recibió al Virey de la Nueva España Marqués de Villena." En la Puebla, 1640, 4.°,

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[12] "León Pinelo [sic] se equivocó al escribir que el recibimiento de que habla el P. Salcedo fue in México." Beristaín y Sousa, *Biblioteca hispano americana,* vol. III, p. 96.

[13] Henri Ternaux Compans, *Bibliothèque américaine, ou, Catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Amérique qui ont paru depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'an 1700,* Paris : Arthus-Bertrand, 1837, p. 593.

[14] Beristaín y Sousa, *Biblioteca hispano americana,* vol. III, p. 101.

[15] Vicente de Paula Andrade, *Ensayo bibliográfico mexicano del siglo XVII,* p. 793, n. 1.

[16] Medina, *La imprenta en la Puebla,* pp. VII-VIII, n. 7.

[17] Aloys de Backer and Carlos Somervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Mansfield, (CT.): Maurizio Martino, 1988, vol. III, col. 1112-1113 and vol. V, col. 459.

with the note that "Sotwel" [sic.] wrote 1639. For Salcedo, the title is given:

> "Emblemas de los Geroglificos y Poesias con que fué recibido en la Ciudad de la Puebla, el Virey de N. E., Marqués de Villena. Puebla, 1640.

All of these entries appear to trace back to Southwell and with such variation it seems likely that none of these authors ever saw the book in question. Even had Southwell seen a copy of the book his entry might still be inscrutable to later bibliographers. The title, as he rendered it, might bear no relationship to the actual title itself, as in the case of the *Relación Histórica de la Solemne Proclamación del Católico Rey D. Philip IV* by Ambrosio Montoya y Cárdenas. This was supposedly printed in Puebla in 1622 and first cited by Beristaín. Medina correctly identified it as the *Diseño festivo del amor*, printed in Puebla in 1701 or 1702, the second of the two above-cited ghosts now laid to rest.[18]

In his *La imprenta en México*, Medina catalogs under entry 535 a volume of six pamphlets bound together as a single book, held by the British Library. Such composite volumes are known as a *sammelbands* or nonce-volumes, and in this one all the texts relate to the arrival of viceroy Villena. Medina's entry notes the variations between the British Library's nonce-volume and his own, similar, *sammelband* of seven pamphlets, now at the National Library of Chile. The University of Salamanca holds another that appears identical to the Medina copy, and the Huntington Library holds yet another variation. In the latter, one finds the following pamphlet, which is undoubtedly the Galindo title that has escaped bibliographers for centuries:

> Matheo Galindo, *Fverte Sabia Politica : Qve La Mvy Noble, Y Leal Civdau De Los Angeles Erigio En Arco Trivmphal. Al Excellentissimo Señõr don Diego*

[18] Beristain y Souza, *Biblioteca hispano americana,* vol. II, p. 291, and Medina *La imprenta en la Puebla,* p. VIII-IX.

Roque Lopez, Pacheco, Cabrera, y Bobadilla. Primer Marqves De España. Y Consagro En Sv Descada Venida, por Virrey, Gouernador, y Capitan General desta Nueva España Por El P. Matheo Galindo de la Compañia de Iesvs. En Mexico : en la Imprenta de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, 1641.

Sammelbands frequently carry inked spine-titles that refer to the theme of the included texts but that do not accurately correspond to the title of any one pamphlet within. What appears most likely, then, is that Southwell—or a correspondent assisting him—was referring to one of these nonce-volumes, perhaps one with Galindo's piece bound first or with a spine-title corresponding to Southwell's entry, and the reference has been carried forward by bibliographers ever since.

Can the possibility of a Puebla imprint by a Mateo Salcedo be discarded? A number of factors weigh strongly in favor of an affirmative answer to that question. The first, of course, is that both Mateo Galindo and Mateo Salcedo were the suggested authors of the title finally identified above. Galindo also authored other titles, including the *Explicación del libro cuarto, conforme a las reglas de Antonio Nebrija* that continued to be reprinted as late as 1796.[19] Mateo Salcedo appears nowhere else in the bibliographical record and, while Zambrano's exhaustive sixteen-volume bio-bibliography of Jesuits in New Spain includes an entry for Mateo Galindo, the entry for Mateo Salcedo derives entirely from the spurious citation introduced by González de Barcia.[20]

While the Galindo/Salcedo zombie has, one hopes, been permanently dispatched, is it possible that other printing was occurring in Puebla prior to the *Sumario* of 1642? Despite affirming Rivera y San Román's conjecture that printing arrived in Puebla in 1640, Pérez Salazar wrote, a few short paragraphs later and with clear angelopolitano pride, that a press may have been operating there as early as 1639 based on printed

[19] For the first edition of 1636 and that of 1796, see Medina, *México,* 470 and Medina, *Puebla*, 1345, respectively.
[20] Zambrano, *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México* vol. VII, pp. 102-106 and vol. XIII, p. 199.

notarial forms that appeared to use type "more imperfect" than those used to print similar forms in Mexico during the same period.[21] Writing in 1939, during commemorations of the fourth centenary of the introduction of printing in Mexico in 1539, a press operating in Puebla in 1639 would fortuitously coincide with the anniversary, and also anti-date the appearance of the first book printed in British North America, *The Whole Book of Psalms*, also known as the Bay Psalm Book, printed by Stephen Daye in Cambridge in 1640.

While one cannot dismiss the possibility of a press operating in Puebla in 1639 or earlier, producing ephemeral items such as invitations and possibly the notarial forms that Pérez Salazar mentioned, and the preceding argues in favor of that notion, there is sufficient reason for skepticism. On 15 December 1636, Philip IV issued a *Real Pragmática* requiring that *papel sellado* be used for all notarial instruments effective 1 January 1637, and this requirement was extended to cover the Indies, effective 1 January 1640, through a second *Real Pragmática* dated 28 December 1638[22]. It would seem much more likely that printers in Mexico City were liquidating their stock of printed forms in 1639, rather than taking on the financial risk of establishing a press in Puebla to make a product for a market that was soon to evaporate. In summary, based on the extant evidence, there is little reason to believe that there was any substantial printing in Puebla prior to the *Sumario* of 1642. Nevertheless, the preceding analysis along with Chapter three leave the possibility of ephemeral printing open and suggests a scenario under which it may have occurred.

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[21] Pérez Salazar, *La imprenta en Puebla,* p. 8.
[22] *Recopilacion de leyes de los reinos de la Índias,* 1681, vol. III, book VIII, title XXIII, law XVIII, fol. 107.

APPENDIX E: DOWRY OF MARÍA DE RIBERA CALDERÓN

En el nombre de Dios Nuestro Señor amen. Sepan cuantos esta carta de recibo de dote y promesa de arras vieren como yo Martin del Rio, escribano de su majestad y vecino y natural de esta ciudad de México hijo legitimo de Martin del Rio difunto y de doña Isabel de Torres Salazar vecina de esta ciudad digo que por cuanto mediante la voluntad de Dios Nuestro Señor y para Su santo servicio esta tratado y concertado que yo haya de casar y case según orden de nuestra santa Iglesia con doña María de Rivera Calderón doncella hija legitima de Juan de Rivera y de doña María de Calderón y Benavides vecinos de esta ciudad y antes de efectuarse el dicho casamiento por parte de los dichos mis señores se me prometieron en dote para ayuda a sustentar las cargas del matrimonio dos mil y treinta pesos de oro común los setecientos pesos de ellos en reales y lo demás en el esclavo y ajuar que ira referido y por que dentro de breves días se a de celebrar nuestro desposorio los dichos mis señores me quieren entregar la dicha dote, por tanto otorgo que la recibí en presencia del escribano y testigos en la manera siguiente-

- Primeramente los dichos setecientos pesos en reales de contado-U700p
- Ítem un mulatillo nombrado Antonio de edad de nueve años poco mas o menos nació en casa de los dichos mis señores hijo de Catalina negra esclava de los susodichos apreciado en doscientos y cincuenta pesos-U250p
- Ítem unos zarcillos de oro y perlas hechas de medias lunas apreciados en ochenta pesos U080p
- Una cruz de cristal guarnecida de oro en doce pesos-U012p
- Una joyita de oro de una cruz con nueve esmeraldas y cuatro jacintos en diez y seis pesos-U016p
- Seis sortijas de oro y piedras ordinarias en treinta y cinco pesos todas-U035p

- Una soguilla de un hilo de perlas que pesa media onza en quanta pesos-U040p
- Seis cocos con sus asas y pies de plata en quince pesos-u015p
- Doce cucharas de plata en diez y ocho pesos-U018p
- Un cofrecito de fierro para joyas en cuatro pesos-U004p
- Una alfombra morisca de cinco varas de largo y tres y media de ancho en ciento pesos-U100p
- Una cama de granadillo entera con su bronce dorado y su colgadura de serpentina encarnada y sus varillas de fierro apreciado todo en ciento y diez pesos-U110p
- Dos colchones de crea labrada azul llenos de lana en cuarenta pesos-U040p
- Un escritorio y […] en treinta pesos-U030p
- Una caja de cedro grade con su llave y cerradura en veinte pesos-U020p
- Una hechura de un niño Jesús de marfil de poco menos de una cuarta de alto con su peaña de ébano-en quince pesos-U015p
- Otra hechura de un niño Jesús de media vara de alto en su peaña dorada en diez pesos-U010p
- Un lienzo de san Hipólito con su marco dorado en veinte y cinco pesos-U025p
- Cuatro lienzos pequeños de mas de vara de alto el uno del santo rey don Fernando-otro de San Jerónimo otro de San Nicolás y el otro de Sancta Rosa de […] en doce pesos todos-U012p
- Una camisa en aguas de morlés de morlés labradas de seda encarnada nuevas en treinta pesos-U030p
- Otra camisa en aguas de ruan florete bordad de seda azul y apreciadas en treinta pesos-U030p
- Otra camisa y en agua de morlés de morlés bordadas de seda verde en treinta y seis pesos-U036p

- Dos delantares de olan de Paris con sus puntos y otro llano en veinte pesos todos-U020p
- Un paño de manos de ruan labrado de seda verde con su puntas en seis pesos-U006p
- Otro paño de manos de [...]ado de pita de Campeche y con sus puntas en diez pesos-U010p
- Dos almohadas y un acerico hilada de pita dos sabanas de ruan florete con puntas de pita en treinta y seis pesos todo-U036p
- Un terno de dos sabanas dos almohadas y dos acericos labrados de seda verde con sus encajes y puntas en cincuenta pesos todo-U050p
- Dos sabanas de ruan labrada de seda azul en treinta pesos-U030p
- Un roda pies de cama bordado de seda encarnada y con su fleco de seda y oro e veinte pesos -U020p
- Una bombacha de pita aforrada en tafetán encarnado en diez pesos-U010p
- Dos bombachas de borlilla blanca con puntas en doce pesos-U012p
- Una colcha y rodapiés de Campeche con sus puntas en veinte pesos-U020p
- Una tabla de manteles con seis servilletas alemaniscas en tres pesos-U003p
- Un medio pañuelo bordado de seda encarnada y con sus pantas en ocho pesos-U008p
- Un vestido de capichola de china azul y rosada e veinte y cinco pesos-U025p
- Otro vestido de rayo negro labrado, pollera y bombacha en treinta y cinco pesos-U035p
- Una pollera de raso caireladlo y blanco en doce pesos-U012p
- Un tapa pies de raso azul con su punta falsa de oro y seda encarnada en veinte y cinco pesos-U025p
- Un vestido de medio brocado encarnado negro y blanco pollera y emballenado con mangotes de raso verde en ochenta pesos-U080p

Ítem pongo por declaración otros trecientos pesos en reales que tocan y pertenecen a la dicha doña María de Rivera Calderón que se los aplico y señalo el dicho Juan de Rivera mi señor en la suerte que tubo de la cofradía del Señor San José que es fundada en el convento del Señor San Francisco de esta ciudad los cuales tengo de cobrar después de haberme desposado y otorgar recibo en forma todo el cual dicho ajuar esclavo perlas y lo demás referido esta tasado a mi placer y contentamiento y es su justo precio y valor y monta un mil trescientos y treinta pesos que juntos con los dichos setecientos pesos en reales hacen dos mil y treinta pesos y lo recebo todo en presencia del escribano y testigos de que pido de fe e yo el escribano la doy del entrego de todo lo referido y como entregado de ello yo el susodicho por honra de la virginidad y limpieza calidad y buenas partes de la dicha doña María de Rivera Calderón que con el favor divino será mi esposa e mando y doy en arras y donación *propter nuptias* y en aquella vía y forma que de derecho haya lugar quinientos pesos de oro común que confieso caven en la decima parte de los vienes que al presente tengo y si no son tantos en los que adelante Dios Nuestro Señor me diere que juntos con los dichos dos mil y treinta pesos de esta dote suma y monta todo dos mil quinientos y treinta pesos los que le promeso y me obligo de los tener por bienes dote y caudal conocido de la dicha doña María de Rivera Calderón y de no los obligar ni empeñar a mis deudas ni n otra manera alguna enajenar los para que cada y cuando que la susodicho fallezca antes que yo sin dejar hijos de nuestro matrimonio o que suceda otra de los casos en derecho permitidos daré y volveré esta dicha dote y arras a quien por la susodicha fuere parte y su derecho representare luego sin pedir ni demandar plazo ni termino alguno aun que la ley me da un año para retener la dote mueble en remedio de los cual y otro cual quiera derecho que me competa lo renuncio y aparto de mi favor por mi persona y vienes habidos y por haber que para ello obliga doy poder a las justicias de su majestad de cuales quiere partes e para que a ello me apremien

como por sentencia pasada en cosa juzgada renuncio mi fuero y la ley si *convenerit* y la de mi favor y la general del derecho=e yo el dicho Juan de Rivera en nombre de la dicha doña María de Ribera Calderón mi hija acepto la donación que el dicho Martin del Rio le ase para que use de ella cada cual le convenga fecha en México a diez y ocho de junio de mil y seiscientos y setenta y nueve años e yo el escribano doy fe conozco a los otorgantes que lo firmaron testigos Antonio Maldonado Juan Cordero y Claudio Sáenz de Urueta vecinos de México [signed by] Juan de Rivera [and] Martin del Rio.[1]

[1] AGNot Fernando Veedor, esc. 687 Vol. 4623, fol 348r-350r.

Glossary

Acuñador: Official of the Royal Mint, responsible for coining specie, a salable office.

Asiento: Contract or obligation to provide goods or services, frequently implying exclusivity.

Audiencia: Civil tribunal. New Spain was divided between the Audiencia of New Spain, seated in Mexico City, and the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, seated in Guadalajara.

Auto de Fe: Literally, the Act of Faith. Public ceremony in which those penanced by the Inquisition fulfilled their sentences (abjuraciones), and were reconciled with the church or relaxed to the secular powers for execution.

Bachiller: First level university degree.

Balón: Literally, a bale. Bales of paper were standardized at 32 reams.

Batidor: Literally, "beater." Press worker responsible for inking the forme in the press. As one doing physical labor, the beater was not permitted to work on Sundays and feast days.

Broadside: An imprint of one or more sheets, printed on one side only.

Cabildo: City council.

Calificador: Theologian named by the Inquisition to render judgment on questions of orthodoxy or heterodoxy. In a more restricted sense, a pre-publication censor.

Calle: Street.

Capellanía: Endowed chaplaincy, or chantry.

Carta Acordada: Inquisition directive issued by the Central Tribunal.

Cartilla: Pamphlet containing the ABC and elements of Catholic doctrine, i.e. the Ten Commandments, Our Father, etc.

Censo: A mortgage issued against real or movable property. The encumbered property could not be sold or transferred until the *censo* was redeemed. Interest charged was typically 5%.

Cofradía: A religious brotherhood. Often based on occupation, in return for prescribed alms, members were guaranteed certain papal indulgences during their lifetimes, and masses for their souls after death.

Componedor, Compositor: Typesetter. As an intellectual labor, the compositor was permitted to labor on Sundays and feast days.

Congregación: Similar to a cofradía, in benefiting from papal indulgences and masses after death, *congregaciones* were typically for diocesan clergy. The *Congregación de San Pablo* was a notable exception for allowing lay members.

Consejo de Indias: Consultative body to the king for executive, legislative and judicial matters related to Spain's overseas possessions.

Consiliario: Elected counselor to a cofradía or congregación.

Consultor: Minister of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, selected to consult on matters of the faith.

Corrector de libros: In a restricted sense, one who verifies that printed editions correspond to their original manuscripts. In a broader sense, one who is authorized to perform post-publication censorship.

Creole: Spaniard born in the Americas.

Cuaderno: Five sheets of paper.

Deposito irregular: Similar to a censo, funds given in *deposito irregular* could be expended, and interest was required; *depósitos irregulares* were generally time-limited.

Doctrina: a) The equivalent of a diocesan parish, administered by a member of a religious order. b) Any brief or extensive work of Christian doctrine.

Doncella: Publically known to be or held to be a virgin.

Ducado: Monetary unit of account equal to 11 *reales*.

Ensamblador: Master carpenter, architect, builder.

Escribano: Scribe, a salable office.

Estampa: Literally, a "stamp." Effectively, a woodblock image of one or more sheets of paper.

Estante: Temporary visitor or resident of a city or town.

Fiscal: Civil or ecclesiastical advocate for the king or a religious order, respectively.

Folio: Book format resulting from single sheets folded once, resulting in two leaves or four pages.

Format: As used here, the equivalent of the size of a book, i.e. folio, quarto, octavo; resulting from folding a sheet once, twice, or three times, respectively.

Forme: Composed text blocks for one side of a sheet, set out in the proper imposition, ready for putting to the press.

Gathering: Printed and folded sheets, also called quires.

Hacendado: One who works a hacienda, a rural agricultural property.

Herederos: Inheritors.

Hermano/a Mayor: The equivalent of a prior in a *cofradía*.

Imposition: The arrangement of text blocks necessary to produce the proper page sequence after printing and folding the sheets.

Impresor: Printer. While the term literally refers to an independently established master printer, it was also used to refer to owner-managers who over-saw the business of the press, i.e. "publishers."

Imprint: a) Any printed work, from an invitation requiring a fraction of a sheet, to a printed and bound book; b) Statement of responsibility, typically including printer, place and date of publication, and occasionally the name of the compositor, funder and/or place of sale.

Index: The Index of Prohibited Books, issued periodically from the sixteenth century forward.

Información en derecho: Legal brief.

Juez de residencia: Review of a royal official's tenure in office.

Labrador: Agriculturalist, *hacendado*.

Libramiento: Royal order of payment

Librero: Retail bookseller.

Licenciado: Second level university degree.

Limpieza de Sangre: Three-generation genealogy, particularly to ensure no Jewish or Moorish ascendants.

Mano: Twenty-five sheets of paper.

Mantas: Blankets.

Maravedíes: Currency of account; 34 *maravedíes* equal 1 *real*.

Mercader de Libros: Wholesale bookseller, not precluding retailing.

Méritos: Biographical summary submitted as part of an appeal for royal aid or preferment.

Natural: Place of birth, viz.: *natural de México*: born in Mexico City.

Nuevo Rezado: Generic term to refer to the revised and approved texts that emerged from the Council of Trent.

Octavo: Book format resulting from a sheet folded three times, with eight leaves or sixteen pages.

Oficio: Literally, "office," meaning profession.

Oidor: *Audiencia* minister.

Papel quebrado: Literally, "broken paper," referring to paper that has been damaged in transit.

Peso [*común*]: Specie valued at eight *reales*.

Poder: Power of attorney.

Poder general: Authorizes recipient to act as the issuer in all respects.

Poder de testar: Authorizes executors to register testament.

Procurador: Solicitor.

Pronostico: Almanac.

Provincial: Head of a religious order's province; supreme authority of that province.

Quarto: Book format resulting from a sheet folded twice, with four leaves or eight pages.

Quire: Printed and folded sheet, also known as a gathering.

Real Cedula: Royal order.

Real: One eighth of a peso, or thirty-four *maravedíes*.

Ream: Reams of paper could vary from 480 sheets or less to 520 sheets or more, although the Spanish ream, without other qualification, was 500 sheets.

Réditos: Interest, for a *censo*, usually 5%.

Regalía: Privilege, used here to denote the retained portion of a *libramiento*.

Resma: See Ream.

Sobrecargo: Super-cargo. Merchant agent who traveled with shipments with more liberty than immigrants.

Sorts: Individual pieces of type.

Tirador: Printing office worker who "pulled" the bar of the press. As physical labor, prohibited from working on Sundays and feast days.

Vara: Unit of measurement equivalent to approximately 83.5 centimeters.

Vecino: Denizen, legally registered resident of a town or city.

Visita: Thorough investigation of a crown or ecclesiastical official charged with corruption or other malfeasance.

Visitador: Official charged with conducting a *visita*.

Viuda: Widow.

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Vita

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